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How to Save Both Body and Soul

Editing and Contextualizing a Middle English Primer in Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 520

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Tutkielman aiheena on kuuden hengellisen tekstin kokoelma, joka sisältyy keskienglanninkieliseen, 1300-luvun viimeiselle neljännekselle ajoitettuun Glasgow'n yliopiston kirjaston (Glasgow University Library) käsikirjoitukseen Hunter 520. Kirjaston käsikirjoitusluettelossa tästä noin 3 400 sanan mittaisesta kokoelmasta käytetään nimitystä "Primer". Tekstien aiheina ovat 1) viisi ruumiin aistia, 2) kymmenen käskyä, 3) seitsemän ruumiillista laupeudentyötä, 4) seitsemän hengellistä laupeudentyötä, 5) viisi asiaa, jotka tulisi tietää Jeesuksen Kristuksen rakastamiseksi ja 6) millainen on ihminen ruumiissa ja sielussa. Tekstejä ei ole aiemmin editoitu. Tutkielmassa selvitetään, miksi teksteistä käytetään monitulkintaista käsitettä "primer", miten ne liittyvät keskienglanninkielisiin hengellisiin opaskirjoihin, mikä tekstien konteksti on ja millaiselle yleisölle ja mitä tarkoitusta varten ne on kirjoitettu. Lisäksi keskiaikaisten käsikirjoitusten editoinnin teorian pohjalta teksteistä tuotetaan kaksi erilaista editiota.

Nykytutkijoiden käytössä keskienglannin sana "primer" tarkoittaa joko rukouskirjaa yleensä, tiettyä vakiintunutta hartauskokoelmaa nimeltä Book of Hours tai lapsille suunnattua lukemisen ja kristinuskon perusteiden alkeiskirjaa. Tutkielmassa käsiteltävä Primer muistuttaa löyhästi viimeistä. Sen teksteistä neljä ensimmäistä on tyypillisiä myöhäiskeskiaikaisten hengellisten opaskirjojen tekstejä. Neljäs Lateraanikonsiili päätti vuonna 1215, että jokaisen kristityn tuli osata tietyt kristinuskon opin ja moraalin perusteet, joita pappi vuosittain kuulusteli pakollisen synnintunnustuksen yhteydessä. Tästä seurasi vilkas keskienglanninkielisten, maallikoille suunnattujen hengellisten oppaiden tuotanto.

Primer on hyvän kristillisen elämän ja synnin välttämisen opas, joka perustaa väitteensä Raamattuun yli 40 lainauksella tai parafraasilla. Sitä saatettiin käyttää yksityiseen hartaudenharjoitukseen, synnintunnustukselle valmistautumiseen tai oman sieluntilan tutkimiseen. Viisi ruumiin aistia täytyy hallita, jottei niiden kautta joudu vakaviin, kadottaviin synteihin. Kymmenen käskyä paljastaa ja tuomitsee käskyjen rikkojat. Ruumiilliset laupeudentyöt almuineen tulee kohdistaa Jumalan lakia noudattaville ihmisille. Hengelliset laupeudentyöt auttavat muita kohti pelastusta ja kestämään vainoa uskon tähden. Kaksi viimeistä tekstiä käsittelee sitä, kuinka ihmisen sielun tulee kääntyä pois maailmasta kohti Jumalan rakkautta. Kymmenen käskyä noudattaa muodoltaan yhtä wycliffiläisen heterodoksisen liikehdinnän kirjallista muotoa, ja Primerissa on viittauksia, jotka sopisivat tämän vainotun uskonnollisen vähemmistön, lollardien, hengellisiin käsityksiin.Teksti ei ole avoimesti opillisesti erottelevaa, ja sitä on mahdollista tulkita niin ortodoksiasta kuin heterodoksiasta käsin.

Editio 1 on suunnattu paleografeille ja säilyttää keskiaikaiset lyhenteet, välimerkit ja visuaalisia piirteitä. Editiossa 2 lyhenteet on avattu ja välimerkit ja isot kirjaimet noudattavat moderneja konventioita. Sanasto ja alaviitteet raamantunjakeisiin auttavat ymmärtämään tekstiä kontekstissaan. Editiot 1-2 täydentävät toisiaan ja kuvaavat editoinnin tulkinnallista luonnetta historiallisen dokumentin välittämisessä nykylukijalle.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Englantilainen filologia, käsikirjoitus, keskienglanti, editio, keskiaika, 1300-luku, katolinen kirkko, Wycliffe, lollardit
Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto
Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information

Contents

1 Introduction

The purpose of this MA thesis is to provide a contextualized edition of the previously unedited seventh item in Glasgow University Library, manuscript (MS) Hunter 520, dating from the late fourteenth century. University of Glasgow *Manuscripts Catalogue* (n.d.), lists the item as "Primer. (Extracts.)". It consists of six short treatises of pastoral instruction, amounting to roughly 3 400 words. The *Catalogue* does not give titles for the texts in the Primer. Because the rubrics in the manuscript are partly illegible in the image, I will give the texts modernized titles and later on refer to them in a shortened form. The texts are: 1) *Five Bodily Wits,* 2) *Ten Commandments*, 3) *Seven Works of Bodily Mercy,* 4) *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy*, 5) *Five Things We Should Know to Love Jesus Christ*, and 6) *What is the Kind of Man in Body and in Soul.* These texts seem to form a whole of some kind, as they exist in the same order also in Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 143, which otherwise consists of a different selection of texts. While many of the other texts in Hunter 520 are better-known and occur in multiple manuscripts (Jolliffe, 1974; Lewis, Blake, and Edwards, 1985), the Primer as a complete entity is known to exist in only these two manuscripts. It shares its last two texts with London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, in which these texts seem to form part of a longer treatise, possibly compiled from many texts (Jolliffe, 1974, pp. 75–76). Editing relatively minor texts that have gone unnoticed helps to "fill in the gaps" and increases knowledge of the historical period in linguistic, lexicographical, intellectual, social and religious terms.

Late fourteenth century, the time of writing of Hunter 520, coincides with the appearance of the Lollard movement associated with John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384), an Oxford philosopher and theologian. The derogatory term "Lollard" apparently derived originally from the Dutch *lollen*, "to mumble", and was used for any kind of vagabond or religious eccentric. It came to be applied to Wycliffe's followers about the time of his death (Hudson, 1978, pp. 7–8). Orme describes the controversy that Lollards caused on the use of the English vernacular for religious texts:

> The Lollards translated the Bible into English and produced sermons and tracts in the language, but they were accused of holding heretical views about the Church, which tended to discredit the use of English for religious purposes. The Lollard translation of the Bible was prohibited in 1409, and some people in the fifteenth century came under suspicion of Lollardy in part because they possessed English primers – though not necessarily wholly for that reason. (Orme, 2001, p. 268)

Lollards promoted literacy and learning in the mother tongue, and along with producing books of their own, modified Catholic mainstream writings to their own ends (Hudson, 1988, pp. 185–186, 421–430). Harley 2398, which includes texts 5) *Five Things* and 6) *Body and Soul* of the Primer of Hunter 520, is known to contain orthodox Catholic tracts but also a fair number of heretic Wycliffite texts (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxix; Hudson, 1988, p. 425; British Library, 2018), which raises the question whether also Hunter 520 might have a Lollard connection.

I will begin this MA thesis by discussing the manuscript and the selection of texts exhibited in the whole codex of Hunter 520 (Ch. 2). The general topics and sentiments of the texts may give clues about the intended readership. Then I will focus on the concept of the *primer*, a Middle English term of which there is no consensus even among modern-day scholars, to see why University of Glasgow calls the six texts in item seven of Hunter 520 "Primer (Extracts.)" (Ch. 3). As primers are a subtype of handbooks of pastoral care, I will relate the Primer in Hunter 520 to English medieval handbooks of religious instruction (Ch. 4). After this I will study the content and context of the six texts included in the Primer (Ch. 5). Then I will discuss the theory of editing medieval manuscripts (Ch. 6). As editing is a mediation of a historical document to a contemporary audience, it involves interpretation and can never be "definitive". I will conceive two intended audiences and make an edition to serve the needs of each, while aiming at a verified text and transparency of my process. Edition 1 (Ch. 7) is intended for an audience concerned more with paleography and the accurate representation of abbreviations as they appear on the manuscript and Edition 2 (Ch. 8) for those more keen on the ideas in the the text. The two different editions will also illustrate the variable nature of editing. I will discuss features of the Middle English language which likely need clarification in the glossary (Ch. 9).

The Primer constantly quotes or paraphrases verses of the Bible, but the official one available in the late fourteenth century was in Latin, known as the Vulgate. I have located the verses through the online Douay-Rheims Bible (2001–2017) and supplied the reference in the footnotes of Edition 2. The Douay-Rheims Version, named after the places of its publication, was the first English Bible translation sanctioned by the Catholic Church. The New Testament was published in 1582 at Rheims and the Old Testament in 1609 and 1610 in two volumes at Douay (Swift, 2010). Smith states: "[I]t is considered to be the version which presents the closest translation of the Vulgate Latin used by […] medieval commentators" (2014, p. xiii).

My research questions are intended to enable the audiences of this edition to better understand and make use of the Primer by providing knowledge of the cultural history of related aspects of medieval Christianity.

1. What is a primer? In what sense is the seventh item in Hunter 520 a primer? How is it related to Middle English handbooks of pastoral guidance?
2. What is the context of the six treatises in the English medieval literary tradition?
3. What was the intended audience of the Primer in Hunter 520? Were they orthodox, Lollard, or both?

2 The Manuscript Glasgow University Library Hunter 520

This chapter will provide a closer look at the whole codex of Hunter 520, first into the physical manuscript itself and then to the general content and sentiments of the texts in the codex. This will throw light on the discourse in which the Primer is embedded.

2.1 Manuscript Description

The University of Glasgow *Manuscripts Catalogue* (n.d) gives the following information pertaining to Hunter 520: The manuscript is a late fourteenth century parchment manuscript on vellum (calfskin), physically located in the Glasgow University Library Hunterian collection. It was bequeathed to the library by the Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte, William Hunter (1718–1783), who owned a large collection of medieval, Renaissance and oriental manuscripts in his personal library. The whereabouts of the manuscript before Hunter's ownership remain unknown. The whole codex of Hunter 520 consists of the following ten items:

(1) *The Pore Catif [Caitiff]* (pp. 1–268)
(2) *The Mirrour of Synneris* (pp. 268–283)
(3) *The Thre Arowis That Schulen be Schett at Domys Day* (pp. 283–295)
(4) *The Foure Errouris* (pp. 295–297)
(5) an English translation of St. Augustine's *Meditationes* (pp. 297–315)
(6) *An Argument Aghens Wanhope* (pp. 315–335)
(7) *Primer* (Extracts, pp. 337–356)
(8) *Bona Oratio* [Address and prayer], pp. 357–366)
(9) *Alia Bona Oratio* [Hymn], pp. 366–371)
(10) *An Argument Aghens Wanhope* (pp. 371–389) (University of Glasgow, n. d.)

According to the *Catalogue*, the items are by unknown authors, except 5) St. Augustine's *Meditationes*, and written in the same scribal hand, each continuing directly from the previous text on the same page, next (or even same) line. Item 7) *Primer* is an exception, starting on a new page under a "space left for a picture" that was never executed. (University of Glasgow, n. d.).

The physical description of Hunter 520 in the University of Glasgow *Manuscripts Catalogue* (n. d.) is an almost word-for-word quote from Young and Aitken's *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of The Hunterian Museum in The University of Glasgow* (1908, p. 422). The manuscript is described as follows:

> Vellum, 6 ¾ x 4 ⅝ inches, ff. 195, well written in one hand, in single cols. of 22 lines, each 4 ½ by 3, ruled and margined with ink, signatures (mostly cropped), catchwords, pagination (late XVII. Cent., 1–389), illuminated initials (blue with red ornament and gestures), rubrics, rubricated running titles, red and blue ¶ ¶, initials and upright strokes of letters in the first line of each page touched with red, marginalia, cropped, otherwise well preserved, fol. Sec. grounde. Late Cent. XIV. Binding: Millboards, covered spattered calf (replacing original brass-clasped wooden boards), gilt-tooled edges, title (impress only, shield gone). (Young and Aitken, 1908, p. 422)

I will clarify some points of the text: The measurements of the manuscript are in inches, equaling approximately 171mm x 117 mm, which would correspond to the size of a pocket book. There are 195 folios, to which page numbers were added in the late seventeenth century, likely at the time of re-binding the manuscript. The large initials marking textual hierarchy are decorated with pen flourishes, in red and blue ink (without gold). I have not seen the original manuscript nor reproductions other than the digital images of the Primer, found in Appendix B.

2.2 The General Sentiments of the Texts in the Whole of Hunter 520

Why would a certain selection of texts be compiled into one codex? Hunter 520 was not an arbitrary collection of texts but intended for a certain readership for a certain purpose. Although I do not have access to any reproduction of the whole codex of Hunter 520, only the Primer, I will try to find information about the texts in the codex to see if they share a common theme. In his *A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, Jolliffe has classified "tracts, treatises and handbooks of pastoral intention" (Jolliffe, 1974, p. 7) from A-O according to their content, into the following groups:

(A) Long Compilations of Spiritual Instruction
(B) "Pore Caitif"
(C) Forms of Confession
(D) Self-knowledge
(E) Confession & Penance
(F) Sin & Sins
(G) Specific Virtues
(H) Growth in the Spiritual Life
(I) General Positive Teaching
(J) Tribulations
(K) Temptations
(L) Preparation for Death
(M) Prayer
(N) For the Clergy
(O) For Those Living Under Rule

Most of the texts in Hunter 520 have been classified by Jolliffe and fall into classes **B**, **D**, **F**, **I**, **K**, **M**. The unclassified texts are *The Thre Arowis that Schulen be Schett at Domys Day*, *Ten Commandments*, *Seven Works of Bodily Mercy*, *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy*, and *Alia Bona Oratio*. Many medieval texts lack a title or may not be recognizable from titles added later, but they can be identified by their *incipit*—the beginning words of a text which often describe the content of the text rather well. Young and Aitken (1908, pp. 422–423) have listed the incipits for the texts in Hunter 520 in relatively short form. I will discuss the texts and, for the purpose of maximum information about the content, give a longer version of the incipits whenever possible, either according to Jolliffe (1974), Lewis, Blake, and Edwards (1985), or MS Harley 2398, of which I have a microfilm copy. There may be slight scribal variation in the spellings of titles and incipits in different manuscripts, and the spelling may not be exactly identical with the incipits in Hunter 520. I will also supply a rubric from Young and Aitken whenever it is informative. Reference to Jolliffe is marked with "J"; to Lewis, Blake, and Edwards with "LBE"; and to Young and Aitken with "YA". In the following, I will discuss the contents of Jolliffe's classes relevant for Hunter 520 and the actual, corresponding texts in the manuscript, which Jolliffe has also marked with an item number.

Class **B** is reserved exclusively for *The Pore Caitif*. It is a unique collection of instructive religious tracts written for the laity in the late fourteenth century (Brady, 1954, p. 529). In Jolliffe's view, it includes fifteen tracts (1974, pp. 38–39) whereas Brady counts only fourteen (1954, p. 352).

The Pore Caitiff is the first text in the codex of Hunter 520, written on pp. 1–268, and taking about two thirds of Hunter 520. YA: "Here bigynenneþ A tretis þat sufficeþ to ech cristen man and woman to lyuen aftur. This tretis compiled of a pore catif and nedli of gostli help of alle". *The Pore Caitiff* is known to be extant in over 50 manuscripts (Jolliffe, 1974, pp. 65–67). It is identical in 23 manuscripts as to the number and order of tracts, which are: Prolog, The Crede, Prolog of the Heestis, Prolog of the Pater Noster, Counceil of Crist, Vertuous Pacience, Of Temptacioun, Chartre of Heuene, Of Goostli Bateile, The Name of Ihesu, The Loue of Ihesu, Of Verri Meeknes, The Effect of Wille, Actiif Liif and Contemplacioun, and The Mirrour of Chastite (Brady, 1954, p. 532). Brady describes how from the sixteenth century, *The Pore Caitiff* has been associated with Lollard texts and even having been written by Wyclif himself; however, the latter does not seem to be the case. *The Pore Caitiff* was indeed inserted in some Lollard codices, and some manuscripts contain heterodox insertions within it (Brady, 1954, pp. 542–548).[1] The first three tracts in *The Pore Caitiff* on topics every Christian was to know comprise more than two-thirds of the entire work.

> Archbishop Peckham's Lambeth Constitutions of 1281 […] ordered parish priests to explain to the people four times a year in the vulgar tongue the following six points: the articles of faith, the ten commandments and the two precepts of the gospel, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments. All these points are covered in the first three tracts of *The Pore Caitiff*. (Brady, 1954, p. 536)

The following ten tracts are indebted to Rolle and devotional Middle English masterpieces, "short sentencis excitinge men to heuenli desiir" (Brady, 1954, p. 537), as the compiler calls them. They deal with how to live a good Christian life in order to be saved. There is an "eschatological interest prominent throughout *The Pore*

[1] Anne Hudson notes: "The scribes of some manuscripts of the orthodox *Pore Caitif*, taking advantage of that text's deceptive appearance of random collection, added chapters with more questionable doctrinal outlook" (1988, p. 425).

Caitif", writes Brady (1954, p. 537). One might say, indeed throughout the whole codex of Hunter 520.

The third text in Hunter 520 is *The Thre Arowis That Schulen be Schett at Domys Day*, on pp. 283–295, and is not classified by Jolliffe. YA: "And here bigynnyþ þat spekeþ of þre Arowis þat schulen be schett at domys day to hem þat þere schulen be dampnyd [rubric]." LBE: "Who so wol haue in mynde þe dreedful day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued with dreede to flee fro synne as þe wise man biddeth his sone [incipit]." Martin calls *Three Arrows of Doomsday* as an example of "apocalyptic meditations" (1981, p. 292). It may be related to, or possibly a section of, the text mentioned by Lagorio and Sargent:

> The *Meditations on the Passion and of Three Arrows on Doomsday* is an affective reliving of the Passion, Crucifixion, Death and Resurrection, reinforced by thinking on the *parousia* and Last Judgment, with the aim of turning the soul from sin to the love of God. (Lagorio and Sargent, 1993, p. 3134)

D deals with self-knowledge, such as understanding the nature of man and the five bodily senses, which is necessary for understanding the state of one's soul, one's disposition to sin, and finally, knowing God (Jolliffe, 1974, pp. 43–44).

The texts in the seventh item of Hunter 520 are discussed in Ch. 5, but I will list them here for the sake of Jolliffe's classification of some of them a) *Five Bodily Wits*—**D.9**, pp. 337–342; b) *Ten Commandments*, pp. 342–350; c) *Seven Works of Bodily Mercy*, pp. 350–351; d) *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy*, pp. 351–352; e) *Five Things*—**D.8**, pp. 352–353, followed in all extant manuscripts by f) *Body and Soul*—**D.13**, pp. 354–356.

F is reserved for tracts "teaching the importance of confession" or "indicating what dispositions are required of those who seek absolution". As an example, "*The myrour of synneres* discusses 'the terrible nature of sin'" (Jolliffe, 1974, pp. 45–46).

The second text in Hunter 520 is *The Mirrour of Synneris*—**F.8**, pp. 268–283. LBE: "For þat we been in the wey of this failyng lyf ande oure dayes passen as a schadewe þerfore it nedeth ful ofte to recorde in oure mynde that oure freelte and oure deedly seeknesse maketh vs so ofte to forȝete". This "apocalyptic meditation" (Martin,

1981, p. 292) has variously been ascribed to St. Bernard, St. Augustine, and the mystic Richard Rolle, and is a translation of *Speculum Peccatoris* (Lewis, Blake, and Edwards, 1985, p. 73).

The fourth text in Hunter 520 is *The Foure Errouris*— **F.13**, pp. 295–297. J: "Iff any man semeþ any part of goddis lawe hard or heuy to him". It is categorized under section "Sins" in "Manuals of instruction in the elements of the Faith". This treatise is based on Bible extracts from Matthew, John, and Paul. Man should purge himself of the four errors of "worldliness, fleshy lust, false avarice, and vainglory" in order to understand God's law (Raymo, 1986, p. 2305).

I consists of tracts about "growth in the spiritual life", some of which come close to the contemplation of the Religious.

The fifth text in Hunter 520 is an English translation of (Pseudo-)Augustine's *Meditationes*—**I.32**, pp. 297–315. LBE: "Seynt Austyne the holy doctour techeth thorough declaracion of holy wryte that the synfulle mane for noo synne falle in despeyre ffor more ys the mercy of gode to mane thane any mannes synne". It is a devotional treatise on God's infinite mercy and not really the work of St. Augustine of Hippo (Lewis, Blake, and Edwards, 1985, p. 198), but was inspired by him and attributed to his venerable name.

K is all about temptations, some relating to approaching death.

The sixth text in Hunter 520 is *An Argument Aghens Wanhope*—**K.8(b)**, pp. 315–335. J: "For as myche as þe Apostel seiþ þat wiþoute feiþ no man may plesen god". Lewis, Blake, and Edwards (1985, p. 79) suggest that the work is a translation of *De Remediis contra Temptaciones* ("Remedies Against Temptations") by William Flete, but has been probably incorrectly attributed to Wynkyn de Worde, ca. 1492.

The tenth text is another treatise titled *An Argument Aghens Wanhope*— **K.9**, pp. 371–389. Wanhope means "hopelessness" or "despair" and is a sin, as will be stated in the quotation from the final section of a sermon for Easter in Harley 2398, fols. 180r–185r, which contains the same item as Hunter 520. I will quote the incipit directly from Harley 2398 in order to get a longer text: "ffor ȝe schul vnderstonde þat

al a mannes lyf fro þe firste poynt to þe laste þe fend is aboute to brynge aman or a wo*m*man to þe cursede synne of wanhope for vnderstondeþ wel þat in þis man*er*e þe deuel styreþ to synne *and* þus synne is don *and* fulfild".

M deals with tracts specifically about prayer.

The eighth text in Hunter 520 is called *Bona Oratio*—**M.15**, pp. 357–366. J: "When þou schapist þee to praie. or to haue one deuocioun. Go to a preuey place fro alle maner of noise and tyme of reste wiþ oute ony lettynge". This text also exists in Harley 2398, fols. 186r–188v, which Somerset (2013, p. 428) describes as: "Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, made into a freestanding treatise on prayer." *Bona Oratio* teaches first how to pray and find a penitential affect in one's own unworthiness and the suffering of Christ. Then follows a prayer first addressed to God and then to Jesus.

The ninth text is titled *Alia Bona Oratio*, pp. 366–371. It is a hymn to the Saviour. *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (n. d.) characterizes it as "A Song of Love to Jesus" with a rhyme scheme of abababab. In the following are the beginning and the end of the hymn:

> Ihesu þi swetnesse whos myȝt it se
> Þer of to haue a cleer knowyng
>
> And lede me lord in to þi blisse
> Wiþ þee to wone wiþ oute ende (*The Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, n. d.)

Many of the texts in the codex of Hunter 520, on accord of how Jolliffe has classified them, seem to be grave and serious, relating to one's disposition to sin, temptations, confession, death and the Last Judgment, but also prayer. Understanding one's soul, learning how to deal with sin, knowing God, and the hope of reaching endless bliss are likely to have motivated the reader.

While Jolliffe has studied the variety of Middle English writings on spiritual guidance, C. A. Martin takes the view that "manuals of instruction might be more profitably studies within the context of the codex in which they are found" (Martin, 1981, p. 283). Martin suggests a classification for studying the vast number of

various Middle English religious manuals for both clergy and laity within the framework of the codices where they are found (1981, pp. 283–298). The classification also elucidates the kinds of codices a scholar might expect to find. Raymo has summarized Martin's discussion of the five groups as follows:

> (1) Manuals in which the elements of the faith are the sole or predominant texts probably for the use of the clergy in catechizing the faithful
> (2) manuals inserting the elements of instruction into predominantly liturgical and homiletic texts such as Horae or Primers
> (3) manuals combining the elements of instruction with devotional and moral texts such as Edinburgh University Library MS 93
> (4) manuals blending the elements of the faith with meditative texts in order to direct the readers' thoughts to the Last Day such as *The Mirror of Sinners* and *The Three Arrows of Doomsday*
> (5) miscellaneous extracts of manual material and devotional and moral texts to provide guides to a more perfect way of life (Raymo, 1986, p. 2273)

At a quick glance, it does not seem clear to which group Hunter 520 should belong. Certain texts seem to be meditative: *The Mirror of Sinners*, *The Three Arrows of Doomsday*, Pseudo-Augustine's *Meditations*, certain sections of the *Pore Caitiff* and probably some sections of *Bona Oratio* and *Alia Bona Oratio*. Many texts deal with the threat of sins leading to eternal Damnation. Hunter 520 might qualify either as 4) a codex of eschatological meditation or 5) a codex of moral texts guiding toward a more perfect life, but it is not "predominantly liturgical or homiletic", even though 2) manuals inserting elements of instruction includes "Primers", and Hunter 520 certainly contains instruction. Surprisingly, Hunter 520 has already been classified by Martin among one of the six examples of type 5) "Manual extracts, and other texts", but nothing is said about the manuscript (Martin, 1981, p. 289).[2] Striving for a more perfect life does seem a central idea in the texts of Hunter 520.

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[2] The term "primer" causes confusion in the classification of Middle English texts. In Chapter 3, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 258 will be discussed as an example of a "primer", or more precisely, a "children's primer", or even an "ABC primer". However, Martin gives this manuscript as an example of his type 1) "Manual as predominant text, or alone". What Martin calls "Prymers" belong to group 2) "Manual, liturgical and homiletic texts" but for him, "Prymer" means Book of Hours (see Ch. 3; Martin, 1981, p. 289–290).

Certain popular orthodox Catholic elements are conspicuously lacking from the codex of Hunter 520, including prayers to the Virgin and the saints and praying on behalf of the dead. Lollards praised the Lord's Prayer, but generally praying wasn't considered as an equally worthy act as teaching and learning the scripture (Hudson, 1988, pp. 195–196). Bennet Ward of Beaconshire (1518–21) uttered:

> Trewe prechynge is betre þan preiynge bi mouþe.
>
> It booteth [*avails*] no man to pray to our Lady, nor to any saint or angel in heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of man's soul. (Hudson, 1988, p. 310)

The immensely popular Books of Hours (see Ch. 3) with their focus on the Virgin and prayers for the dead were denigrated by the Wycliffites (Hudson 1988, pp. 309–310) and were not an option for devotion. Sir John Oldcastle's books had even had the names of the saints and of the Virgin censored from the litany (Hudson 1988, p. 312). In Chapter 3, I write about the confusion between the overlapping concepts of "Book of Hours" and "primer". Could an orthodox manuscript of 389 pages avoid the prayers to the Virgin and the saints altogether? Perhaps a book like Hunter 520 might be a more protestant version for a Book of Hours. About two thirds of it consist of *The Pore Caitiff*, which, although originally mainstream orthodox, has been associated with Wycliffite writings, its spirit conforming to Wycliffite tastes.

The nearest example of a partly heterodox text to which Hunter 520 could be compared is Harley 2398, which shares four items with Hunter 520. It is a codex which contains orthodox Catholic tracts but also a fair number of heretical Wycliffite texts (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxix; Hudson 1988, p. 425).[3] There are many similarities in the whole codex of Harley 2398 and Hunter 520. Apart from *Five Things* and *Body and Soul*, Harley 2398 shares two other items with Hunter 520 not included in the Primer. The first is an untitled prayer, called *Bona Oratio* in Hunter 520, found on fols. 186r–188v in Harley 2398. The second is the final section of an Easter sermon

[3] Anne Hudson writes about BL Harley 2398:"It is much harder to know what to make of a manuscript such as that now Harley 2398; alongside a dubious case such as the *Schort reule of lif*, the slightly more questionable *Of weddid men and wifis*, certainly heterodox items such as a Wycliffite commentary on the Pater noster and an outspoken one on the ten commandments, appear the unexceptionable *Memoriale Credencium* and *Mirror of St. Edmund*." In the footnote Hudson writes: "The unorthodox items are respectively ff.188v–190v. 160v–166v, 166v–174, 73–106, 106v–127. (Hudson 1988, 425, 435)

which corresponds to the tenth item in Hunter 520 titled *An Argument Aghens Wanhope* (University of Glasgow, n. d.) and recorded in class K ("Temptations") as item K.9 in Jolliffe's *Checklist* (1974, p. 122). There are other similarities than the four shared texts between the whole codex of Harley 2398 and Hunter 520. The manuscripts begin with a similar kind of treatise: the first text in Harley 2398 is *Memoriale Credencium*, of which Raymo (1986, p. 2268) states: "Its closest affinity is to the *Pore Caitiff*", the first text in Hunter 520. Harley 2398 also contains a Wycliffite *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* (Hudson, 1985, p. 162) and *The Fyve Wyttes*; these are longer treatises than *Ten Commandments* and *Five Bodily Wits* in Hunter 520.

3 What is a Primer?

In this chapter, I will examine what kinds of books were meant by the term "primer" and see how the six texts in Hunter 520 could be classified as extracts of one. The term "primer", originally pronounced "primmer" (Orme, 2001, p. 248), is in itself problematic and needs to be elucidated. Kennedy argues that it is highly imprecise, as there does not seem to be a clear consensus on what constitutes a primer (2014, p. 695). According to Orme, in the thirteenth century,

> a special word developed to describe lay prayer books, 'primer'—a term apparently special to England. […] Rather confusingly, it seems to have been applied to both books of basic prayers and to books of hours. (Orme 2001, p. 264)

Clanchy suggests the word *primarium*, first mentioned in 1297, to be a Latin neologism. It derives from *primarius*, meaning either "first in rank" or "first in order", and might stand either for the first or most important book of the owner, who was possibly a child. It could also refer to the "Prime", the morning prayer originally prayed in monasteries at the First Hour of the day at about six o'clock (Clanchy, 2011, p. 24). In this way, the primer may be linked to prayer, the monastic hours, and learning to read. Kennedy analyzes the different usages of the term by modern scholars into roughly three categories: a prayer book and a Book of Hours, sometimes used interchangeably, and a children's primer (Kennedy, 2014, p. 695).

De Hamel holds the view that "a 'Primer' is the Middle English word for a Book of Hours" (1998, p. 138). Originally a Latin devotional book, the Book of Hours contained prayers to be recited at the canonical hours. The Middle English translation was enormously popular among devout laypeople who wished to integrate elements of monastic prayer to their daily life (Duffy, 1992, p. 210). By the late fourteenth century, the Book of Hours had become a standardized anthology containing "a calendar, four Gospel lessons, the Office of the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, and the Office of the Dead", often with ancillary texts (Kennedy, 2014, p. 694). Kennedy describes the function of the books, often decorated with lavish miniature illustrations and border decoration (2014, p. 694):

> With a Book of Hours the devotee prayed to Mary and the saints as personal heavenly intercessors, and the book itself could act as a sort of virtual shrine, including, by means of the Office of the Dead, the departed members of the devotee's family and community. (Kennedy, 2014, p. 694)

Focusing on the saints and the dead, the Book of Hours was a deeply orthodox Catholic book. Lollard theology, on the other hand, rejected prayers to the saints and for the dead, considering there to be no other mediators between man and God except Christ (Hudson, 1988, pp. 309–311).

For Duffy, the terms "primer" and "Book of Hours" are interchangeable throughout his book *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England 1400–1580*, for example:

> On the eve of the Reformation there were probably over 50,000 Books of Hours or Primers in circulation among the English laity. No other book commanded anything like such readership (Duffy, 1992, pp. 7–8)

Like Duffy, Martin uses the words "Horae" and "Prymers" synonymously (1981, pp. 289–290). Kuczynski uses "primer" likewise, calling the "Psalter and Hours" in Yale University Library Beinecke MS 360 a "prayer book":

> The puzzle of divine wrath […] is another way medieval moralists aggravate their readers' awareness of their ultimate responsibility for moral choices—for instance, in a fragment from Rolle's *English Psalter* copied on the back of a Lollard **prayer book** now at Yale (Beinecke MS 360). (Kuczynski, 2003, p. 320; emphasis added)

It is uncertain what Kuczynski means by "a *Lollard* prayer book", a concept which might be relevant for Hunter 520. The abstract of Beinecke 360[4] (Yale University Library, 2019) reveals nothing especially heterodox about the content of the "Psalter and Hours", unless the use of the later Wycliffite translation of the Psalms can be interpreted as such. Beinecke 360 also includes a suffrage to the Virgin, although

[4] For Beinecke MS 360, Yale University Library (2019) gives the title "Psalter and Hours". The manuscript contains "1) Psalter in English, in 8–part liturgical division, beginning defectively. Text is the later Wycliffite translation of the Psalms. 2–7) Book of Hours, use of Sarum. 8) St. Jerome's Psalter, with introductory prayer and text followed by a suffrage to the Virgin. With Notes on Historia, Alegoria, Anagogia, Tropologia."

untypical of Lollard devotion (Hudson, 1988, p. 310). However, the reality was not black-and-white:

> [T]he border between a heretic and an orthodox believer was permeable and situational.
>
> Lollards and more mainstream Christians shared devotional interests. (Raschko, 2009, pp. 388–389)

To resolve the confusion between the terms, Kennedy (2014, pp. 695–696) suggests a continuum between "prayer book" and "Book of Hours", the first being the most generic term and the latter most specific, with "primer" falling somewhere in between.

The children's primer was a short, little booklet copied by hand for little children learning to read. Wieck (1988, p.74) states that they were "usually read to shreds and discarded", and despite the tens of thousands of copies having been made, not many have survived. Because of the ambiguous nature of the word "primer", Michael Clanchy uses the term "ABC Primer" for these books. A typical ABC Primer started with a cross and the alphabet, followed by the three fundamental prayers, *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*. While learning to read, children were immersed in Christian doctrine (Clanchy, 2011, p. 18).

According to Orme, Christianity was a religion of the Sacred Word and holy scriptures, in which letters and reading held a deep religious significance. By the tenth century, this was demonstrated during the consecration of a new church: The bishop symbolically wrote letters across the church floor with his staff, starting with the Latin alphabet and moving from the east left-hand corner to the west right-hand corner; and then similarly forming the letters of the Greek alphabet from the west left-hand corner to the east right-hand corner, so that a St Andrew's cross could be conceived across the floor (Orme, 2001, p. 252).

Orme describes how learning to read was like praying. Schoolchildren were taught to enter into a spiritual mode, first crossing themselves and saying a version of "Christ cross me speed", then reciting the alphabet, which ended with "amen", followed with basic Christian prayers. The alphabet "was not only to be looked at, but pronounced aloud and pronounced like a prayer" (Orme, 2001, p. 253). Up to the thirteenth century, a sequel to a most elementary ABC primer especially for children training as

clergy or nuns, was a Latin psalter, including 150 psalms, or an antiphonal with short biblical texts. In the thirteenth century, new types of prayer books evolved, the Book of Hours among others, still often beginning with the alphabet (Orme, 2001, pp. 263–264). At the crux of the primer were learning to read, praying, and understanding one's faith.

As an example of primers of basic religious instruction for children, Kennedy gives New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 258. Columbia University Library calls it a "primer," because its contents are limited to the crossrow and basic texts of religious instruction, including the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Creed" (Kennedy, 2014, p. 695). To my mind, Plimpton 258 is not a conspicuously elementary work, however. It consists of eighteen relatively brief texts, including New Testament extracts and theological tracts of St. Augustine[5] (*Digital Scriptorium*, n. d.). The complexity of some of the texts would suggest an adult reader, maybe someone who is not fully literate; this would justify the alphabet at the beginning. In his classification for studying religious manuals within their codices (see Ch. 2.2), Martin gives Plimpton 258 as an example of a subtype of 1) "Manuals in which the elements of the faith are the sole or predominant texts probably for the use of the clergy in catechizing the faithful" (Raymo, 1986, p. 2273), referring to it in the following words:

> It is possible that a slimmer version of the manual circulated, perhaps in booklet form, and was used by the laity as part of a programme of early religious instruction" (Martin, 1981, pp. 288–289).

The six short texts in Hunter 520, which the University of Glasgow (n.d.) calls "Primer ('Extracts')", classified as item 7 of the codex, do not include psalms nor prayers of any kind. Neither are there any typical elements of a Book of Hours, nor the beginning basic elements of a children's primer, the alphabet with a Hail Mary, Our Father, and Creed. If the alphabet and three prayers were to begin the Primer in

[5] Plimpton MS 258 begins with a cross and an alphabet, followed by eighteen texts. The italicized titles are according to the manuscript: 1) Our Father, 2) Hail Mary, 3) *the crede*, 4) *the x commaundementis*, 5) *The vij dedly sinnes*, 6) *vij principal vertues*, 7) *the vij werkis of merci bodily*, 8*) the vij werkes of merci gostly*, 9) *the v bodily wittes*, 10) *the v gostily wittis*, 11) *the iiij cardinal vertues*, 12) *the vii giftes of þe holi gost*, 13*) the xvj condicions of charite that paule writith ad corinthians xiij capitulum*, 14) *the blessingis of god*, 15) *Seynt Austyn merbelith of v thingis*, 16) *Eueri man owith to beware of vij lettingis that lette men to com to heuen*, 17) *Also seint Austyn seith bi þe iiij a man shal know if he be of the nowin þat shall be saved*, and 18) *Here ben iiij needful thingis to eueri man* (Digital Scriptorium, n. d.).

Hunter 520, it would bear very close resemblance to Plimpton 258, as these two share the first four topics of Hunter 520, namely, 1) *Five Bodily Wits,* 2) *Ten Commandments*, 3) *Seven Works of Bodily Mercy*, and 4) *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy*. According to Pantin (1955, pp. 193–194) these texts belong to the essentials of Christian doctrine and morals which priests were obliged to teach to the souls in their cure four times a year (see Ch. 4). The last two texts of the Primer in Hunter 520, 5) *Five Things We Should Know to Love Jesus Christ*, and 6) *What is the Kind of Man in Body and in Soul*, are not representative of obligatory elementary teaching, but clarify quite philosophically man's origin, his nature, the purpose of his life, and the structure of the soul and its relationship to God. As a work teaching the right Christian life which leads to salvation, the Primer is closely related to medieval manuals of religious instruction which will be discussed in Ch. 4.

The existence today of two other "copies" of the Primer in Hunter 520 suggest that it was not a private, individual anthology, and it is likely that also other copies have circulated. Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 143, an "English devotional miscellany" dating from the fifteenth century and containing twelve devotional Middle English treatises both in prose and verse is particularly interesting. It is accessible as a digitized version through the online Princeton University Library *Catalog* (2018) and includes a sequence of six texts which displays a very close resemblance to the Primer in Hunter 520 with only minor orthographical variation. Unlike the University of Glasgow *Catalogue* (n. d.), the Princeton University Library *Catalog* (2018) does not classify those items as a primer or any other entity, but only lists them according to their rubrics:

> fol. 26v–29v: "Here begynnyþ þe fyve bodili wittus—fol. 29v–34r: "Here begyneþ þe ten commandementis and telliþ hoo brekeþ hem—fol. 34r–35r: "Here begyneþ þe seuen werkes of merci—fol. 35r–35v: "Here begyneþ þe seuen werkes of gostli merci—fol. 36r–36v: "How a man schulde haue in his hert fyue þynges þat desiryiþ to loue god—fol. 36v–38r: "What is þe kynde of a man in bodi and in soule. (Princeton University Library, 2018)

Although the texts seem to have been copied as an entity, Garrett 143 does not really support calling the texts a primer. The whole codex of Garrett does not share any other texts with the whole codex of Hunter 520. There seem to have existed an abundance of short tracts like the ones in the Primer, as Fleming and Jolliffe testify in the following. Fleming, who published "What is þe kynde of man in bodi & in

soule" in Garrett 143, a text almost identical to *Body and Soul* in Hunter 520, in *Notes and Queries*, gives a discription of Garrett 143 which has relevance to the Primer in Hunter 520:

> Of the prose pieces, most fall into the category of commonplace didactic and doctrinal statements which appear in more or less the same form in a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century collections: the Ten Commandments, Five Wits, Seven Works of Mercy, and so forth. The following piece on nature of man, however, while it contains commonplace doctrine to be found in the *Cursor Mundi* and elsewhere, commands some interest. (Fleming, 1967, p. 243)

Fleming goes no further in describing what that interest is. One might argue that *Five Things* and *Body and Soul* are more inspired, or possibly more unique pieces of writing than, say, *Five Wits, Ten Commandments*, or either of the *Works of Mercy*. Jolliffe seems to accord with Fleming about "commonplace didactic and doctrinal statements" in describing why he excluded certain types of texts, including the *Ten Commandments* and both types of *Seven Works of Mercy* in Hunter 520 from his *Checklist*:

> [T]here exists a considerable body of material, usually in the form of lists, which provides very simple descriptions or explanations of the Decalogue, the seven deadly sins, the five wits, both corporal and spiritual, the seven works of mercy, both corporal and spiritual (Jolliffe, 1974, p. 27)

One way of defining a primer, which might be considered a further development of an ABC primer, might be a book of short, elementary religious teaching for laypeople, even if it does not include an alphabet or the three basic prayers. The Primer in Hunter 520 would fit into this definition well. The typical selection of texts in books like these did not evolve by chance, but were an outcome of Church legislation and developments in pastoral care, as will be discussed in Ch. 4.

4 Late Medieval Handbooks of Religious Instruction and Examining Conscience

The need for texts like the Primer arose from developments in the systematization of pastoral care in the Church in the thirteenth century, leading to the production of handbooks of religious instruction in rising numbers. Pantin discusses how this was brought about: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, summoned by Pope Innocent III in order to bring about ecclesiastical reform, issued among others the decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* ("everyone of both sexes"). It would affect every Christian, as they became obliged to confess to their parish priest and take part in communion annually at Easter. This created the need to educate both priests and laity—priests in moral theology, the technique of hearing confessions, and imposing appropriate penances; and the laity in a minimum of Christian fundamentals. At the yearly confession, the priest was to cross-examine penitents not only on their sins but also on their religious knowledge, making the confessional an equally important means of instruction as the pulpit (Pantin, 1955, pp. 191–194).

According to Bremmer, an influential effort in bringing the Lateran decrees to the English people was that of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury. He convened a council at Lambeth in 1281, which decreed for the province of Canterbury that each parish priest was to expound to his flock the essentials of Christian doctrine and morals four times a year "in the native tongue, plainly and without intricate subtleties" (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxiii). Pecham's catechetical manual, *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* ("ignorance of priests") enumerated these essentials: the Fourteen Articles of Faith[6], the Ten Commandments, the Two Precepts of the Gospel[7], the Seven Works of Mercy[8], the Seven Deadly Sins[9], the Principal Virtues[10], and the

[6] The Articles of Faith are the statements in the Apostles' Creed (Peacock, 1868, pp. 15–16).
[7] Jesus expresses the Two Precepts of the Gospel in Matt. 22: 36–40. These are loving the Lord above all and one's neighbor like oneself.
[8] The Seven Works of Mercy are: feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, shelter the homeless, visit the sick, visit the imprisoned, and bury the dead.
[9] The Seven Deadly Sins are: Pride, Sloth, Envy, Anger, Avarice, Gluttony, and Lechery (Peacock, 1868, pp. 30–40).
[10] The Seven Principal Virtues comprise the three theological virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity (Love), and the four cardinal virtues: Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance (Smith, 2014, p. 23).

Seven Sacraments of Grace[11] (Pantin, 1955, p. 193; Kellogg and Talbert, 1960, p. 346; Spencer, 1993, p. 203). Before Pecham, many thirteenth-century bishops had required children to be taught the Lord's Prayer, Ave, and Creed in the vernacular, and how to make the sign of the cross properly (Spencer, 1993, pp. 206–207). This minimum syllabus of Christian faith is carved also on the fourteenth-century font in Bradley parish church, Lincolnshire as an injunction for godparents:

> Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Criede,
> Leren the childe yt is nede. (Duffy, 1993, p. 54)

Spencer describes the Ignorantia Sacerdotum as follows:

> As a foundation for lay religious education in England, Pecham's syllabus is in some ways eccentric, and its peculiarities were often silently normalized in pastoral treatises and sermons. It makes no mention of the Paternoster or Ave, and the exposition of the Apostles' Creed divides it into fourteen articles, rather than the usual twelve. (Spencer, 1993, p. 205)

According to an early Christian legend still popular in the late Middle Ages, the twelve apostles had jointly composed the Apostles' creed, each apostle bringing one clause to it[12] (Spencer, 1993, p. 145). This medieval tradition is often portrayed in church windows and rood screens (Duffy, 1992, pp. 64–65).

In 1357, John Thoresby, Archbishop of York, reaffirmed the Lambeth Constitutions almost *verbatim* in his *Ordinances* for the province of York. He had the novel idea of having the text translated into the vernacular in alliterative, unrhymed verse for lay readers by the monk John Graystok (Kellogg and Talbert, 1960, p. 356). This popular

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[11] The Seven Sacraments of Grace are: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance [Confession], Matrimony, Orders [of priests], and Unction [Last Rites] (Peacock, 1868, p. 17).

[12] *Five Things* in Hunter 520 functions as the beginning of a composite treatise in Harley 2398, fol. 130r/18–31, which contains an example of the Twelve Articles of the Faith in the Creed as assigned clause by clause to each of the Apostles:

> (1) "Petrus. I byleue in oo god fader almyȝty maker of heuene *and* of erþe"
> (2) "Andreas. And in to Ih*es*u crist his only sone oure lord."
> (3) "Jacobȝ maior. þat was conceyued þurgh þe holy gost bore of marie mayde."
> (4) "Johannes. Suffred vnder ponce pilatys. crucifyed. ded *and* buryed."
> (5) "Thomas. He wente a doun to helles þe þridde day he aros fro dede iuen."
> (6) "Jacob minor. He styed to heuenes he sytteþ on þe ryȝthalf of god fader almyȝty."
> (7) "Philippus. ffro þennys he is to come for to deme þe quyke *and* þe dede."
> (8) "Bartholomeus. I byleue in þe holy gost."
> (9) "Matheus. Holy churche gen*er*al þe co*m*munite of seyntys."
> (10) "Symon. fforȝeuenesse of synnes."
> (11) "Judas thade*us*. Arysynge of mankynde."
> (12) "Mathias. And lyf eu*er*lastyng. Amen."

work became known as *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, copied widely and promising forty days of indulgence for whoever learned it. (Pantin, 1955, p. 212; Duffy, 1993, p. 54; Spencer, 1993, p. 204; Raymo, 1986, p. 2271). This would not have been a little benefit, meaning that for a sacramentally absolved sin, a remission of punishment in the horrors of Purgatory was given. This promise, however, may not have been the original intention of Thoresby. Lollards started producing books in the late fourteenth century, and it is often difficult to distinguish between orthodox and heterodox manuscripts. Hudson notes:

> Lollard 'farcing' of orthodox writings was carried out fairly frequently: Lollard versions […] of Thoresby's *Lay Folks' Catechism* and of Rolle's English Psalter survive to reveal this process. (Hudson, 1985, p. 203)

In 1960, Kellogg and Talbert compared the different manuscripts of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* and argued the following:

> The most dramatic and celebrated instance of Wyclifite adaptation is, of course, that of Archbishop Thoresby's *Ordinances*. [The English translation, or the *Lay Folks' Catechism*] was duly published, and after an uncertain interval there appeared a Wyclifite adaptation, promising, *with a rare burst of humour*, forty days of indulgence to all who learned it. (Kellogg and Talbert, 1960, pp. 356; emphasis added)

In a manuscript with distinct Lollard insertions, the promise of forty days seems to be mockery because, as Hudson (1988, pp. 299–300) states, Lollards did not believe in indulgences.

To support the priests in bringing Pecham's program into effect, a steadily growing body of handbooks, initially in Latin, emerged from the Council of Lambeth. In the century following the Pecham Constitutions, more and more "essentials" were added to them such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the Five Senses, both bodily and spiritual. Available evidence suggests that the Five Senses emerged on the list of catechetical topics to be known by the common layman in the second half of the fourteenth century (Bremmer, 1987, p. xliii). The earliest manuals for priests were in Latin, but notable Middle English vernacular compilations of religious instructions soon started appearing. Among the longer ones were the late twelfth-century *Handlyng Synne*, translated in verse from the Anglo-Norman *Manuel de péchés*; *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340) and *The Book of Vices and*

Virtues (c. 1375), both being translations of the French *Somme le roi*, compiled in 1280 by Friar Laurent for Phillippe III; *Speculum Vitae*, and early fifteenth century *Jacob's Well*, both derived from *Somme le roi*; *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300); *The Prick of Conscience* (c. 1350); and the early fifteenth century *Memoriale Credencium* (Raymo, 1986, pp. 2255–2278).

A fifteenth century example on how knowledge of catechetical topics was vital for both confessor and confessant can be found in *Instructions for Parish Priests* by John Mirk, the Prior of the Augustinian Priory of Lilleshall, Salop. The *Instructions* advised the priest to question the confessant on the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, Seven Deadly Sins, and the Five Senses and other venial sins (Peacock, 1868, pp. 25–43). The *Instructions* contained 1934 lines of verse, allowing easy memorization (Pantin, 1955, p. 214). The Five Senses was a favorite topic for confession, because it offered an easy access to inquiring about sins. Mirk's handbook included a form for confession and a short catechism with questions and answers, such as: "When sungeþ a Mon in heeryng?—Whon he wilfoliche leeueþ þat he schulde heere, and ȝiueþ heryng to þat he schulde not heere" (Bremmer, 1987, p. xliv). Without the penintents' knowledge on what constitutes a sin, it would hardly be easy to conduct confession properly. *Ordynarye of Crysten men* warned that "simple people, overawed by the occasion, tended to answer 'yes syre unto that / that a man them demandeth be it trouth or lesynge [=lie]'"(Duffy, 1992, p. 58).

In Mirk's *Instructions*, the Five Senses were placed after the chapter on mortal sins or sins which separate a person from God, that is, *superbia* (pride), *accidia* (sloth), *invidia* (envy), *ira* (anger), *auaricia* (avarice), *gula* (gluttony), and *luxuria* (lechery). The sins associated with the senses were considered venial or easily forgivable sins, but nevertheless leading the person away from God. To illustrate how concrete the questioning on the following I will quote the beginning of the chapter named "Examination of the Penitent on Venial Sins (Through the five wits, Sight, Hearing, Smell, Taste, Touch; in other ways)" (Peacock, 1868, p. xiv). On the right-hand side is my shortened modern translation.

De visu
Hast þow I-seyn any thynge
Þat tysed þe to synnynge?
Be-þenke þe, sone, welle, I pray
For mony þyngus þat falle may.

On sight
Have you seen anything that
enticed you to sin?

De auditu
Hast þou I-had gret lykynge
For to here euele thynge,
Or nyce wordes of rybawdy
Or suche maner harlotry?

On hearing
Have you had a liking
to hear evil things,
frivolous or obscene
speech?

De olfactu
Hast þou I-smelled any þynge
Þat hath tend thy lykynge,
Of mete of drynke or spysory,
Þat þou hast after I-synned by?

On smelling
Have you smelled anything
delightful like food, drink,
or spices?

De gustu
Also ȝef þou synned hast,
In mete or drynke by lusty tast,
Þat also þow moste telle me,
Ȝef I schale a-soyle the.

On tasting
Have you enjoyed food
or drink too much?

De tactu
Hast þou I-towched folyly,
Þat þy membrus were styred by,
Wommones flesch or þyn owne?
Ȝef þou hast, þou moste schowne.

On touching
Have you touched
lasciviously a woman's
flesh or your own?

Here ben þe wyttus fyue,
How þey ben spende, telle me blyue,
And whad þou hast in herte more,
Telle me, sone, a-non by-fore:
I praye þe, sone, be not a-ferde,
But telle hyt owte now a-pert.
Telle me, sone, I the pray,
I wole þe helpe ȝef þat I may.
(Peacock, 1868 pp. 41–42,
verses 1311–38)

Here are the five senses.
Tell me willingly and
openly how you have used
them and don't be afraid,
so I can help you.

The lengthy and exhausting formula of full confession described in books for priests had to give way, especially during Lent, to the reality of queing fellow-parishioners close behind, praying the rosary and chattering. "[I]n a time-honoured formula the penitent was to be brief, be brutal, be gone" (Duffy, 1992, p. 60).

Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* also contains the examination of the confessant in the Ten Commandments. The fourth commandment "Hast þou honowred Fader and Moder" according to the orthodox doctrine included not only the parents but also the spiritual father (lines 911–912):

Hast þou done also honowre	Have you also honored
To hym þat ys þy curatowre?	Your priest?
(Peacock, 1868, p. 28)	translated by the author

The priest would impose penance for the sins confessed and absolve the penitent. Although Mirk's *Instructions* are in the vernacular, the elaborate form of absolution is in Latin[13], containing the sources and theology of the priest's holy power. The ritual must have been quite imposing and mystical for the layperson.

To the mind of a medieval commentator, the two keys that Christ committed to Peter were the keys of knowledge and power (Hudson, 1988, p. 294). These allowed the priest to bind or absolve sins, as explained in Matthew 16: 18–19.

> And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven. (Matt. 16: 18–19)

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[13] Form of absolution: 'Ego, auctoritate dei patris o*mn*ipotentis & b*ea*toru*m* ap*osto*lor*um* petr*i* & pauli, & officij mi*ch*i co*m*missi in hac parte, absoluo te ab hijs p*ecca*tis michi p*er* te confessis, & ab alijs de quib*us* non recordaris. In no*min*e p*at*ris & filij & sp*iritus* s*anct*i. Amen. Ista humilitas & passio d*omi*ni no*st*ri ih*es*u *christ*i & m*er*ita s*anct*e mat*r*is ecc*les*ie, & o*mn*es indulgencie tibi concesse, & om*n*ia bona que fecisti & facies vsq*ue* in fine*m* vite tue, sint tibi in remissionem istor*um* & omniu*m* al*iorum* p*ecca*tor*um* tuor*um*. Amen.' (Peacock, 1868, pp. 52–53)

However, not everyone in fourteenth century England would endorse the sacred authority of the priest. The readers of Hunter 520 may have been heterodox, orthodox, or both. Codices included texts of various origins, and parts of the Primer seem to exhibit implications of heterodoxy (see Ch. 5). If the Primer prepared an orthodox Catholic for oral confession and absolution, a Wycliffite reader, would examine his conscience for another purpose. For a heterodox reader, the Catholic priest did not possess the keys of Peter, and the obligation to annually confess to a priest of possible dubious spirituality and morality was not only useless, but also theologically offensive (Hudson, 1988, p. 295).

> For no man but God assoyles of synnes, but if [*unless*] we clepe assoylynge schewyng of prestis þat God hymselfe assoyled.
>
> For contricioun of hert and leuynge of synne be sufficient be hemsilf wiþ þe grace of God. (Wyclif's *Tractatus de Regibus* p. 19/2, MS Trinity College Cambridge B. 14.50, f. 46; in Hudson, 1988, p. 294)

Hudson describes how, for Wyclif, the question of absolution (or forgiveness of sins) was not something in the power of a priest, not even a *trewe preste*, a fellow Wycliffite. Only God alone could forgive sins, but this required true repentance, which a priest could not know. In a strict Wycliffite view, the penitent's state of heart depended on his state of grace; he was predestined by God to salvation or foreknown to damnation (Hudson, 1988, pp. 294–296). "[M]en who shall be damned cannot fully be absolved of their sins by God, and God's withholding of absolution is in turn the result of their insufficient contrition" (Hudson, 1988, p. 324). Thus Peter's key of power was not interpreted as one of absolution but of preaching and reproof. A person could not know their state of grace, but "it is legitimate to hope for one's own salvation, and prudent to cultivate the practice of God's law" (Hudson, 1988, p. 324). Elucidating the law was a major concern of Lollards and also of most of the Primer, as will be discussed in Ch. 5.

5 The Texts in the Primer in Hunter 520 and Their Context

> Salvation in late medieval England was, it seems, a straightforward transaction; at least, the formula for attaining it might be very simply expressed: keep the commandments, do no evil, guard the bodily senses from temptation, and all shall be very well in the hereafter. Or it will be, provided that the seeker after salvation knows what the commandments, deadly sins, and five senses are. (Spencer, 1993, p. 196)

Whoever wrote the Primer was keen on expressing moral trespasses and documenting each with a Bible quotation. Quoting the Bible diligently on aspects of their faith was a Lollard tendency, and for this bishop Reginald Pecock characterized them scornfully as *Bible men* (Hudson, 1988, p. 228). Kuczynski (2003, p. 315) writes: "[T]he Lollards […] seem to have regarded the Bible as an ethical lexicon, a sure verbal standard for moral discourse in English." Medieval moralism, however, is not limited to the Lollards, even if they did pay a lot of attention to God's law and how others kept breaking it. Although the Primer in Hunter 520 lacks an explicit text on the Seven Deadly Sins, it provided the late fourteenth century seeker with concise knowledge on right conduct and observant piety in order to avoid damnation and to attain salvation. The Primer does not mention Purgatory, but the text would have been read against this frightening concept which loomed over all religious sentiment and thought in the late Middle Ages.

Duffy explains how Purgatory was an immense source of anxiety and horror for late medieval Christians. Only saints could hope to enter the bliss of Heaven straightaway whereas only infidels, reprobates and fiendish persons would go to Hell— the rest would need to suffer harrowing pain in Purgatory until they were purified of their sins (Duffy, 1992, pp. 341–342). Even absolved sins required punishment. Much of late medieval religious culture was concerned with shortening the time spent in Purgatory, in ways such as observant prayer, devout worship, giving money to the church, pilgrimages, going on a Crusade, indulgences, charitable works, penance, prayers for the dead and doles given at funerals (Duffy, 1992). Accounts of visions and revelations gave sights into Purgatory, where the punishment was carefully matched to each person's crime, often one of the Seven Sins:

> Visitors to Purgatory saw souls in every posture of physical torment— suspended by meathooks driven through jaws, tongue, or sexual organs, frozen into ice, boiling in vats of liquid metal or fire "als it had bene fysche in hate oyle". […] it was detailed vividness which seemed the essence of such visions. (Duffy, 1992, p. 339)

Penance on earth was easier than in Purgatory: enduring one day of tribulation or sickness while alive would equal a year of torture after death (Duffy, 1993, p. 342). Books such as Hunter 520 which helped people to transcend their sinful nature and endeavour to rise closer to the moral standards of God were motivated not only by people's desire to attain knowledge about their faith or the truth of Christianity, but also to escape at least some of the pain that would follow after death. The Primer is much prepossessed with God's law, breakers of the law and ways of breaking it. Positive and life-affirming senses of the law are not in its main focus. Judgment Day and the horrors of damnation loom ubiquitously since many of its citations from the Bible contain explicit threats of Hell, e.g. "For vnbuxsumnes to Moyses and Aaron sonken doun to helle alle qwyke wijf and alle þat longeþ to hem" (p. 346/1–4) or "a wraþful man is hateful to god : and he is made felawe of ffeendis (p. 346/14–16). At least the *Ten Commandments* contain Wycliffite influence, which will be shown in Ch. 5.2. Wycliffites disproved of indulgences and prayers for the dead, but held no fixed view on the existence of Purgatory (Hudson, 1988, pp. 309–310). Not believing in Purgatory would have made the prospect of Hell more likely and thus more terrifying, as there would be no middle ground between Heaven and Hell for the average sinner.

In the manuscripts, the texts of the Primer are not dealt with in equal length. The first two, which are more concretely instructive, are given more prominence. Running rubrics were added by a later hand to these sections, which probably indicates that the reader wanted to find these important texts more easily. *Five Wits* runs for roughly five pages on 112 lines, title not included; *Ten Commandments* for seven and half pages on 163 lines; combined, the bodily and ghostly kinds of *Works of Mercy* take up less than three pages, roughly a page and half each, *Bodily Mercy* running for 30 lines, *Ghostly Mercy* for 27 lines. *Five Things* is scarcely longer than a page on 24 lines, while *Body and Soul* takes up three pages on 65 lines, title not included. The last two texts combined make four pages. The texts seem to form four groups, the Wits, the Commandments, the Works of Mercy, and the "nature of man". Generally

speaking, the Primer texts are not highly original works of theological thought. They form a pocket-book guide to a more perfect way of life. Loftier theological treatises would have been larger in size, more beautifully decorated, and located in a library; probably written in Latin. These tracts are relatively short, quoting Bible verses akin to their themes. Thematically, all of the texts deal with good living and rising closer to God's moral standards; the soul transcending the material and bodily perspective toward the love of God continuing in eternity.

5.1 *Five Bodily Wits*

The treatment of the Five Senses, that is: sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching, in the *Five Wits* in Hunter 520 is one well adapted to teaching the right Christian life and handling sin in confession. The lesson is that sensual sins can lead to more dangerous ones and therefore the senses must be well guarded. Sensual sins are related to the Seven Deadly Sins: pride, greed, lust, envy, gluttony, wrath, and sloth.

In the following is a summary of the content of the *Five Wits.* The most important thing is said first: Through belief it is known that God has given man five senses through which life should be lived in the right way in order to save both the body and the soul. And how will it be done? The senses are discussed in the order of hierarchy, sight being the first and foremost. It is most dangerous: bodily sight may lead to other evils, that is, the blindness of the soul. This is exemplified by King David, whose sight lead him to seduce Bathsheba and to arrange the death of her husband (2 Sam. 11); and Christ's famous passage in Matt. 5:28 that sight which causes sexual temptation equals adultery.

Hearing is rather much elaborated on in the *Five Wits* because it is crucial for faith: Rom. 10:17 is quoted, which states that faith comes through hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ. Also virtues are obtained through hearing the teaching of clerics. A man should be glad to hear God's word and *eche man þat is trewe in Crist* should close his ears from the devil. This expression may refer to Lollard usage, as *Trewe men* and *trewe cristen men* were typical Lollard sect vocabulary (Hudson, 1985, pp. 166–167; Peikola, 2000, pp. 81–225). Many forms of evil and unnecessary

speech are warned against: talking behind another's back, flattery, lies, tales and tricks, as well as obscene speech and insincere praying.

Among the sins connected with smell are a lascivious way of life, gluttony and lechery: too much enjoyment in pleasing foods and drinks as well as wasting money on perfumes and spices instead of sustaining the poor. This idea strikes a chord with Wyclif's view that "only the just have true possession: since the just are by definition in perfect charity, they would wish to share their goods, whether spiritual or temporal" (Hudson, 1988, p. 374). Whether lechery has a sexual sidetone to it is not further discussed, although it seems to be related to the term used, as an extended form of sensual enjoyment. The danger of tasting is greed and too much enjoyment which makes one forget reverence to God, "whether we eat, drink, sleep or wake". The sense least in hierarchy is touching, and it is dealt with somewhat discreet ambiguity—you should not touch "that thing which stirs you to sin", but instead touch what you need to in your daily work, that is, avoid sloth.

The concept of the Five Senses has a rich history in the allegorical exegesis of the Bible. For patristic and medieval theologians, numbers conveyed secret metaphysical meaning, and so comparing different things of the same number was a valid strategy. "The number gave those things something in common that superseded their accidental differences" (Smith, 2014, p. 60).

The concept of the Five Senses was known in England already in Anglo-Saxon times, as testified by the late ninth century Fuller Brooch, decorated with five human figures personifying the Five Senses, the round-eyed Sight as most important in the center (The British Museum, 2017).

Figure 1. The late ninth century silver Fuller Brooch (diameter 114 mm). The five human figures in the center personify the Five Senses, Sight in the middle, Taste on the top left with his hand tucked into his mouth, Smell on the top right with hands behind his back sniffing a plant, Touch on the bottom right showing his hands, and Hearing on the bottom left cupping a hand to his ear. London: The British Museum, 2017. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In Anglo-Saxon homiletic texts the Five Senses often appear in the allegorical exegesis of certain Bible passages (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxxiv). In the Parable of the Heavenly Feast in Luke 14: 16 five teams of oxen signify the Five Senses: A man invited many to a great supper, but they started making excuses, one of them saying he has bought five teams of oxen and wishes to try them. Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham (c.955–c.1010) explains in a homily for the third Sunday after Pentecost: "The five teams betoken the five senses of our body, which are sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch. These five senses he has who is whole" (translated by Thorpe, 1846, p. 373). He goes on to explain that the man tests his five senses and spends them in a useless way out of curiosity, which is a sin: we should not look at evil sights, hear evil speech, taste forbidden food, smell harmful smells, or engage in sinful touching "if we are desirous of coming to the delicacies of the eternal refection" (Thorpe, 1846, p. 375). *Five Wits* in Hunter 520 follows this tradition of senses as gateways to sins and, eventually, damnation:

> For ofte tyme bodili syȝte causuþ blindenusse of soule þ*at* he knoweþ nat his God *and* falleþ i*n*to derkenesse of synne, as Kyng Dauid þorou bodili syȝtte ful i*n*to avowtrie *and* ma*n*slauȝter. […] And so for defaute [= lack] of kepynge of þis wit, a man falluþ to many oþ*ur*e yueles
>
> wiþ herynge of þe voys of þe oolde nadder þe fend, oure forme fadur was lost *and* disceyued. (Hunter 520, p. 338/9–13, 15–17; p. 340/13–15)

Another famous parable, the Parable of the Five Talents in Matt. 25: 14–30, interprets the five talents (coins) as the Five Senses. This association goes back to St. Jerome (347–420), St. Gregory the Great (540–604), and St. Bede the Venerable (672–735; Bremmer, 1987 p. xxxv). Also *Five Wits* refers to the talents in Matthew 25: "[The five wits] as seyþ Synt Gregor, ben vndurstonde by fyue besauntes þat Crist spekuþ of i*n* þ*e* gospel" (pp. 337/6–338/4). In this parable, the master of the house leaves for a long journey and entrusts a different amount of talents to his servants, to each according to their abilities: five to the first and most able, two to the second, and one to the third. Upon coming back, he rewards the first two servants who have doubled the value of his property, the five and two talents given to them, but the servant who has buried his one talent to the ground he throws into the outer darkness. In his sermon for the Nativity of One Confessor, Aelfric surprisingly takes the side of the common man. He explains that the servant who received and made further five talents represents unlearned men who "teach rightly what they may know by the outer senses" (Thorpe, 1846, p. 551), although they cannot understand God's doctrine. The servant who received and made two talents means the conscientious clergy, while the servant who hid his one talent and made none stands for the slothful clergy. At the end of the parable, the master makes the last servant give his one talent to the first servant who already had the most; Aelfric interprets that in this way the layman is rewarded also with inner understanding (Thorpe, 1846, p. 555, 557).

Aefric associated five coins of redemption as penitence through the Five Senses in a homily for the Purification of St. Mary. This allegory derives from the Old Testament command that every firstborn son be sacrificed to God or else redeemed with five coins (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxxvi); this command can be traced back to Ex. 34:20 and Num 18:16. Aelfric writes: "We must redeem our evil thoughts or deeds with five shillings; that is, we must repent our evil with our five senses, which are sight, and hearing, and taste, and smell, and touch" (edited and translated by Thorpe,

1844, p. 139). Bremmer (1987, p. xxxv) mentions also the early Middle English *Vices and Virtues* (c. 1200) which articulates a penitential heart's accusation for not having properly invested the five talents of the five senses that "God has assigned me to look after my wretched body" (Holthausen, 1888, pp. 17–21). Penitence is implicit in *Five Wits* as well.

One strand in the medieval allegorization of the Five Senses is twined around Adam, original sin and redemption. The Middle English translation of Robert Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour* (*Castle of Love*) states that Adam was given his five senses so that he could judge between good and evil (Sajavaara, 1967, pp. 138–139). In a twelfth-century homily on the Nativity of Our Lord, the Five Senses are associated with the Five Wounds afflicted on Christ on the cross. Christ will redeem for the sins that Adam committed when listening to the Devil, looking at the forbidden fruit, taking it, smelling it, and tasting it. Through the Fall, Adam lost the fivefold powers he had received from God in creation and caused himself and his offspring to suffer through all their senses until redeemed (Morris, 1873, pp. 32–34). Bremmer (1987, p. xxxviii) points out that Gen. 3:6 embodies an embryonic description of original sin as sensual acts. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c. 1375), the pentangle on Gawain's shield is explained by Gawain's virtues: he is faultless not only in his Five Senses, but also in his five fingers, the Five Wounds of Christ, Five Joys of Mary, and five knightly virtues (Powell, 2000, p. 58). The idea that man's Five Senses are poisoned with man's original sin and that Christ's Five Wounds heal them becomes common in the late twelfth century (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxxvi–xxxviii).

A favorite Middle English religious allegory of the Five Senses, going back as far as Classical Latin and Greek texts, is that of "man's body as a house, castle, citadel, or city, which is besieged by enemies" (Bremmer, 1987, p. xxxviii). In England, this image emerges in a twelfth-century homily for Quadragesima Sunday:

> and though a castle be well garrisoned with men and with weapons, yet if there be a single hole whereby a man may creep in, is it not all in vain? What betokeneth the castle but man himself? What are the men who are in the castle and defend it but man's eyes, feet, hands, mouth, nose, and ears? These are the limbs that man sometimes sinneth with. (translated by Morris, 1868, p. 22)

This expresses the idea that a sin committed through any one of the senses brings death for the whole soul.

While in the homily for Quadragesima Sunday the Five Senses stand for the men who defend the castle, the "house" or "castle" imagery evolves forth into the senses being the "windows" of "gates" through which the enemy is let in. The idea is found already in Jer. 9:21: "For death is come up through our windows, it is entered into our houses to destroy the children from without, the young men from the streets." The "house" or "castle" imagery becomes so firmly established that the explicit mentioning of the house or castle is not always needed. This is the case in a twelfth-century homily titled Estote fortes in bello ("be strong in war"). It describes how the poisoning serpent creeps secretly in through any of the senses. "These are the five gates through which the worker of death cometh in, and therein death also" (edition and translation by Morris, 1868, pp. 153). The penitent in the thirteenth century *On Lofsong of Ure Lefdi* ("A Hymn to Our Lady") prays for Mary's intercession: "I acknowledge myself guilty, and cry to thee mercy, Lady, for I have made gates of all my five senses for the entrance of sinful vices" (edition and translation by Morris, 1868, p. 204), then confessing all the different ways.

A twelfth-century homily for St. Andrew's Day takes another angle to the "gate" theme, that of the dying body closing its gates:

> When the soul seeketh to go out of her body she closeth to her five gates and penneth them full fast, and depriveth them of their functions which they before enjoyed; the eyes their sight, the ears their hearing, the nose its sniffing (sniveling), the mouth its smelling, the teeth their grinding, and the tongue its speech. And she takes away from all the limbs their power to protect themselves. (Edited and translated by Morris, 1873, pp. 180–182)

Sawles Ward ("Guardian of the soul"), also from the twelfth century embellishes the "castle" imagery: the house is the man's self within, where Reason ("Wit") is the master of the house and Will is the unruly housewife.

> Should the house go after her (obey her) she bringeth it all to ruin, except Wit, as lord, chastise her for the better, and deprive her of much of what she would. And yet would all her household follow her everywhere if Wit forbad them not; for all these are untoward and reckless servants, unless he directs them. And who are those servants? […] Those within are the man's five wits—sight, hearing, tasting, and the feeling of each limb (Edited and translated by Morris, 1868, p. 244)

The allegory goes on: The husband should never sleep nor leave the house lest his wife and servants work evil together, letting thieves break in and rob the house of its treasure, the man's soul. Luckily, he has his four daughters to help him guard against thieves and ghosts, that is: Prudence, Spiritual Strength, Moderation and Righteousness.[14]

A similar treatment of the "castle" imagery can be found in the fourteenth century in Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee.* The husband Melibeus leaves the house to amuse himself in the fields while his wife Prudence and daughter Sophie are left at home, the doors tightly closed. Upon seeing this, three of Melibeus' enemies sneak in through the windows using ladders, and beat his wife and grievously injure Sophie in five places: her feet, hands, ears, nose and mouth. The wife later explains the meaning. Melibeus has sinned against Christ, and so the three enemies of mankind, the flesh, the Devil and the world have entered the body through its windows and wounded the soul in five places. And the deadly sins have entered Melibeus' heart through the Five Senses (Benson, 2006).

The first lengthy religious treatise on the Five Senses was the hugely popular and influential work *Ancrene Wisse* ("Guide for anchoresses"[15]), dating from 1215–21. The second part of the work was titled "Protecting the Heart through the Senses" and dealt with the sensual distractions and temptations an anchoress must face (Hasenfratz, 2000). Despite its origins, the work was seen as concerning Christians in general. Another penitential work was *Jacob's Well* (c. 1425) that contained ninety-five sermons on the purifying of one's conscience, making allegories of the different parts of a well. The Five Senses are "the five watergates of the well which should be stopped to prevent polluted water from entering" (Bremmer, 1987, p. xlii)

In the fourteenth century the Five Senses became integrated into more and more works of religious prose. A very influential work on confession and penance was the French *Somme le Roi* (1279), written by Friar Lorens, the Dominican confessor of King Philip III of France. It was first translated into the Kentish dialect of English in 1340 as *Ayenbite of Inwyt* ("Remorse of conscience") and in c. 1375 as *The Book of*

[14] These are the Cardinal Virtues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice (Smith, 2014, p. 23).
[15] Achoresses (masc. anchorite) were females who withdrew themselves from the world to live a contemplative life, in England usually in a cell connected to the village church (License, 2011).

Vices and Virtues (Pantin, 1955, pp. 225–226). In this book, the Five Senses were associated with a variety of contexts: two Pleasant Things, the Seven Steps of Equity, the Six Conditions of Shrift, and the Seven Steps of Chastity (Bremmer, 1987, p. xlii). The fact that it was so easy to adapt the Five Senses into whatever penitential context lead into its becoming a conspicuous theme in handbooks of pastoral instruction, and one of the objects of interrogation during confession.

5.2 *Ten Commandments*

For the most part of the Middle Ages, the primary moral code for people was not the Decalogue, or the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament. These were considered Jewish, belonging to the 613 commands or *mitzvuot* of the Torah. Up to the twelfth century, the list of Seven Cardinal Sins[16] conceived by Gregory the Great (d. 604) guided examplary moral behaviour and inspired medieval vernacular culture immensely. Augustine (d. 430), exegetes like Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141), thirteenth-century orders like the Franciscans and Dominicans, and especially the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 promoted the Ten Commandments. These became a useful tool for examining conscience in obligatory confession. Only in the fourteenth century when the Ten Commandments rose in prominence in vernacular texts did they begin to surpass the Seven Cardinal Sins, and by the late fifteenth century they were omnipresent in Christian culture, including the written word and iconography. Protestants embraced the Ten Commandments with fervour from the sixteenth century onwards.

The Hebrew Bible tells how on Mount Sinai Moses receives the Decalogue that God himself has written with his finger on two stone tablets (Ex. 31: 18), only to crush them at the sight of the Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf, and writing them again on the mount at God's command (Ex. 34: 10–27).

[16] Desplenter and Pieters (2017, p. 1) use the wording Seven Cardinal Sins, perhaps more often referred to as Seven Deadly Sins and sometimes Seven Capital Vices. The concepts are worded in slightly different ways: *superbia* (pride), *invidia* (envy), *gula* (gluttony), *accidia/acedia* (sloth), *ira* (wrath/anger), *luxuria* (lechery/lust) and *avaritia* (avarice/greed).

Smith describes how Christians divided the ten commandments onto the two tablets to symbolize Jesus' twofold commandment of loving the Lord above all and the neighbor as oneself [17](2014, p. 66). In the medieval Christian perception the first three commandments written on the first stone tablet defined man's duties toward God and those on the second his relationship to his neighbor, and what restraint was intended "of thought, word, and deed" (Smith, 2014, p. 4).

In medieval interpretation, the commandments (the law) were God's act of love toward the human being; they both created and described the fundamental working of the universe. Living accordingly would bring harmony with the cosmos, but living unaccordingly would bring chaos to a person's life (Smith, 2014, p. 16). The commandments were seen as "a comprehensive description of life in the household of God" (Smith, 2014, p. 4). Indeed, fulfilling the law, not breaking it, was the point of interest for medieval exegetes of the twelfth-century renaissance. Smith illustrates: "It is as absurd to speak of breaking God's law as it is to speak of breaking the law of gravity by jumping from a high window." In such a case the person would die but the law remain (Smith, 2014, p. 16).

In *Summa aurea*, William of Auxerre (1140/50–1231) showed how commandments could be seen as remedies to the Seven Deadly sins. *Superbia*, *invidia*, *gula*, and *accidia* were forbidden by the first stone tablet as sins against God, and *ira*, *luxuria* and *avaritia* by the second tablet as sins against neighbor (Smith, 2014, p. 46): the first commandment cures pride, envy, and gluttony, in which unfortunate cases one's God equals oneself, one's neighbor, and one's belly, respectively. Keeping the sabbath cures sloth; respecting the prohibition to steal or covet one's neighbor's goods cures avarice; resisting adultery and the charm of one's neighbor's wife is a remedy against lust (Smith, 2014, p. 64). Pride was universally seen as the origin of all the other Seven Deadly Sins. Correspondencies such as those of William of Auxerre are very much at the core of the *Ten Commandments* in Hunter 520. Whereas many breeches against the commandments depict universal moral problems, there are some that seem specially to reflect the time of writing, which I will point out in the discussion of each commandment.

[17] This was known in Pecham's *Ignorantia* as the Two Precepts of the Gospel.

Jolliffe did not list expositions of the Decalogue in his *Checklist*, although "so common in Middle English religious manuscripts […] because they are moralised writings on the commandments, intended to expound them rather than to apply them to the needs of the individual; and because some of the material definitely has Lollard associations, while more is suspected of having them." He adds in the footnote: "It has […] been held that preoccupation with the Law of God is a sign of possible Lollard influence"[18] (Jolliffe, 1974, pp. 28–29). Smith points out that late medieval Christians agreed on the importance of the Commandments, but heretics were more likely to complain that "the orthodox do not adhere to them strictly enough" (2014, p. 6). If the general orthodox view was that the ordinary person would go to Heaven through Purgatory and that God's law explains the world, then *Ten Commandments* seems to be in complete discord with it. The tone and vocabulary are strictly black and white, and for many commandments an extreme Bible quotation is given expressing God's wrath and damnation for the breaker of the commandment.

There is considerable reason to suspect the *Ten Commandments* in the Primer to be a Wycliffite text. Martin (1981–1982) has classified the types of Wycliffite Middle English tracts on the ten commandments into three general categories according to their structure: rhetorical, discursive and discursive-rhetorical versions. The first type is relevant for Hunter 520, described by Martin:

> 'Rhetorical' is here used to describe a kind of text that is compact (when compared to other and different extant texts), rigidly organized, and, with respect to the internal structure of each commandment, repetitive. Texts of the rhetorical version type are organized thus:
>
> (i) Statement of commandment, or brief note of commandment.
> (ii) General query about "Who brekyth this heeste", followed by list of breakers.
> (iii) Specific query about, for example, "Whi mycheris?", followed by the answer, which may or may not be supportd by a biblical or patristic citation or quotation. (Martin, 1981–1982, p. 203)

[18] Another footnote reveals Jolliffe's distaste of tracts on sins as less valuable for assisting spiritual life (1974, p. 29). Many earlier generations of scholars interested in Middle English religious texts seem to be inclined towards either orthodoxy or heterodoxy. Compare Duffy, 1992, p. 6: "The reader will also search in vain in these pages for any extended discussion of Lollardy, or the earliest English Protestants. […] I do think that Reformation historians have by and large overestimated their numbers and their significance."

The structure of the *Ten Commandments* follows this pattern very closely, to the slight exception of there being no general queries. Every commandment begins by stating the commandment, followed directly by "And þis breken…" with a list of the kinds of "men" (offenders), always three kinds where possible. After this come explanations on how each type of sinner breaks the commandment, followed by a Bible quotation or patristic citation: "As Poule seiþ…". There are three breakers and three citations whenever possible—the number three was special, not only because it represented the Trinity and is ubiquitous in the Bible (Smith, 2014, p. 57). Numbers were central in Creation and things numbered in the same way had hidden correspondencies (Smith, 2014, p. 49–51). Also constant referring to recognized authorities, often biblical, was a keystone in the method of medieval Christian commentators (Smith, 2014, p. 78). In the following I will go through each commandment in the Primer and its list of breakers, commenting on the Seven Deadly Sins and those citations from the Bible which offer special insight to the interpretation of the commandment. **[T]** means that the commandment was emphasized with a large decorated initial. I have italicized the wording of the commandment for clarity.

"**[T]**He first Commaundement of god is þis. *Þou schalt worschip no fals goddis*." It is broken by "proude men, worldely men, fleischely men." Their gods are, according to the manuscript, in respective order: the devil, worldly goods, and their bellies. Here the corresponding sins would be pride, greed, and gluttony. Although the prohibition of making an image, which is part of the first commandment, is not explicitly stated, it is found in the biblical quotation from Eph. 5: 5: "An auarouse man is a seruau*n*t of mawmetrye *and* schal not heritage þe kyngdam of God." Figuratively, mawmetrie could mean any misdirected worship (*Middle English Dictionary*, 2013).

"Mawmetrie" was also a typical word in Lollard sect vocabulary. (Hudson, 1985, p. 169). Hughes elucidates that the word derived from "mawmet", found in written sources c. 1205, and meaning a false god, an idol, or an image of a false god. Also protestant iconoclasts used the word (Hughes, 1991). Wyclif condemned images vehemently as they were associated with saints, whom he rejected as dubious. Their legends, lives, and miracles were to be ignored as untrue, popular idolatry

denounced, and prayers addressed to God alone (Hudson, 1988, pp. 302–303). This vague reference to images would probably have been noticed by a Lollard but possibly have been left unnoticed by an orthodox reader, protecting both the book itself and the people who read it from being burnt.

"**[T]**He secunde commaundement is: *Þou schalt not take goddis name in veyne.* It is broken by "veyn spekeres, greet swereres and wicked worcheres." Sloth, pride and wrath show in these works.

"The þridde is *haue mynde to halowe þine holiday*." It is broken by "Men þat þenken not on god hertiliche ne preyen to him not deuouteliche ne doon not þe workes of mercy." This corresponds to sloth.

"Þe fourþe heest is: *Þou schalt worschip þi fadir and þi modir*." It is broken by "vnkynde men, froward men, rebel men." Notable here is the omission of the orthodox interpretation of the commandment, where the spiritual father means the priest and the spiritual mother the Church. This was a very subtle way to indicate Lollard leanings. Pride would lead to disregarding this commandment, which might, however, still have something to do with having to surrender to the *right* spiritual authority, not necessarily the Church or a priest. Following the wrong people was a serious sin: "For vnbuxsu*m*nes to Moyses *and* Aaron sonken doun to helle alle qwyke wijf *and* alle þat longed to hem."

"**[T]**He Ffyueþ Heest is: *Þou schalt slee no man*." It is broken by "enviouse men, wraþful men and auarouse men". Envy, wrath, and avarice are plainly stated here. The reader shall not feel wrath: "A wraþful man is hateful to God; and he is made felawe of feendis."

"**[T]**He sixte is: *þou schalt doo no lecherye*." It is broken by "fornicatores, auowtreres, holowres". Here is the only commandment where female sinners are implied, lust, also avarice being the Deadly Sins. There is a threat on the children: "Þei of auowtrye, her seed schal be outlawed; and ȝif þei ben of long lijf, at nouȝt þei schulen be acou*n*tid, and in her laste eende schulen faile speche."

"**[T]**He Seuenþe Heest is: *Þou schalt doo no þefte*." It is broken by "micheres, robberes, extorcionneres". Envy, avarice, and wrath would be the corresponding sins.

The Bible reference describing extortioners, in the modern usage people who use threats to exact money from another, is a peculiar one, from Wisdom 2: 12, 19–20.

> Let us therefore lie in wait for the just, because he is not for our turn, and he is contrary to our doings [*and upbraideth us with transgressions of the law, and divulgeth against us the sins of our way of life.*]
>
> Let us examine him by outrages and tortures, that we may know his meekness and try his patience. Let us condemn him to a most shameful death. (Wis. 2: 12 and Wis. 2: 19–20)

The italicized end of Wis. 2:12 is missing in the manuscript. Verses 2:19 and 2:20 have switched places. A Wycliffite reader could easily associate this passage with the persecution of the Lollards, keen on the law, by the orthodox authorities who *before* the investigation have decided to kill those exposed (by their neighbors perhaps, who may also have extorted money). Lollards were known for their patience and ability to hide their faith in evasive answers when interrogated, and it seems they were instructed to do so in Lollard schools (Hudson, 1988, pp. 158–159). An example from a Lollard text given by Hudson seems to accord with this Bible quotation; *trewe men* equals Lollard: "And þus men of þes newe sectis, from þe first to þe last, procuren deþ of trewe men þat tellen hem even Goddis lawe" (Hudson, 1985, p. 167). *New sects* for Lollards meant monks, friars (Carmelite, Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian), canons, and the papal curia, prelates, and clerics of the pope, sometimes including also nuns and hermits (Hudson, 1988, pp. 347–351).

"**[T]**He eiȝte heest is: *Þou schalt bere noon false wittenus aȝens þi neiȝbores*." It is broken by "lyeres, false questmongeres, gloseres." This implies avarice and pride. The quotation from Isaiah 59: 13–15 also seems to refer to Lollard persecution. The italicized sections are in the Bible but have been left out of the Primer. They seem to clarify what the otherwise somewhat ambiguous quotation is about.

> We have [*conceived, and*] uttered from the heart, words of falsehood. And judgement is turned away backward [, *and justice hath stood far off:*] because truth hath fallen down in the street, and equity could not come in. [*And truth hath been forgotten*] and he that departeth from evil, lay open to be a prey [*: and the Lord saw, and it appeared evil in his eyes, because there is no judgment*]. (Isaiah 59: 13–15)

"**[T]**He Nynþe heest is *þou schalt not couete þine neiȝbores house*." This commandment is not further expounded on. Envy and greed would be implied.

"And þe tenþe is *þou schalt not couete þy neiȝbores wyf ne his childe ne noon of his seruauntes*." This is broken by "men þat wrongfully coueyten in herte alle if þei doon it not in dede". Envy, greed, and lust are implied.

5.3 *Seven Works of Bodily Mercy*

> For man with-owt marcy, of marcy shall misse;
> And he shall have marcy, that marcyfyll is. (Dyboski, 1908, p. 141)

The works of bodily mercy had huge importance in medieval eschatology; and hence for Christian life and preparation for judgment. "At the Day of Doom Christ will judge men and women not by their professions of piety, but by their actions towards the poor and weak" (Duffy, 1992, p. 357). The first six works are found in the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats in Matthew 25. From all nations Christ will separate the sheep (the just) on his right hand and the goats (the cursed) on his left. Christ will say to the sheep:

> Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in: Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me. […] Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me. (Matt. 25: 34–36, 40)

Neither the sheep nor the goats will have recognized Christ in the poor and weak, but the sheep will have shown mercy anyway. Christ will say to the goats:

> Amen I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me.
>
> And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just, into life everlasting. (Matt. 25: 45–46)

The seventh work of bodily mercy, burying the dead, derives from the Book of Tobit, which, as well as Isaiah 58: 6–7, depicts also other works of mercy:

> Tobias daily went among all his kindred, and comforted them, and distributed to every one as he was able, out of his goods: He fed the hungry, and gave clothes to the naked, and was careful to bury the dead, and they that were slain. (Tob. 1: 19–20)

Alms-giving was inexorably related to salvation, and consisted of giving money, food or other goods to the poor. The word "alms" is a corrupted form of Greek *eleemosyne*, meaning mercy (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2003). Religious teaching in the late Middle Ages emphasized spiritual motivation for doing good to others (Duffy, 1992, p. 358). However, giving alms even with defective intentions was enormously important. In Mirk's *Festial* "a hard and unfeeling rich man […] throws a loaf at an importunate poor man, simply for the lack of a better missile" (Duffy, 1992, p. 358). This act saves him from damnation after his death, for the Virgin implores Christ to save him because of this sole act of grudging mercy. He is restored back to life:

> Wherfor anon he made to sell all hys good, and dele hit to pore men for Godys loue. And when he had so ydon, he was made a religious man, and was aft*yr* a holy man. (Erbe, 1905, p. 104)

After one's death was the last opportunity to give alms, and in all late medieval burials except those of the destitute, food, drink, clothing and money were distributed to the poor, who in return were expected to pray for the soul of the deceased. (Duffy, 1992, pp. 359–360).

The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy can be expected to have been well-known and much expounded on in homilies. Even the simplest of minds could understand them. The Works of Bodily Mercy constituted a common theme in medieval Christian iconography, being illustrated on wall-paintings in churches from the late fourteenth century and later on the large painted windows financed by prosperous families (Duffy, 1992, pp. 63–64).

In Hunter 520, the *Works of Bodily Mercy* are treated in greater brevity than the Ten Commandents, consisting of only 30 lines. First the works are listed: 1) "Feede ȝe þoo þat ben houngry" 2) "Ȝyue ȝe drynke to þoo þat ben þristi" 3) "Herberow ȝe gestis in ȝoure housis" 4) "Cloþe ȝe hem þat ben naked" 5) "Visite ȝe hem þat ben sike" 6) "Goo ȝe to men þat ben in prisoun and visite ȝe hem" 7) "Berye dede men þat han nede".

What follows is surprising in two ways: by what is said and what is not. The works are not explained in any concrete or allegorical way; perhaps this was information

the reader was assumed to know. The latter half of the tract consists of stern warnings on whom to do these "alms" correctly, otherwise it might not please Christ.

Alms should be given to those who "kepen the lawe of god". Lollards were known for their commentaries on God's law (Hudson, 1988, p. 167). "For many men may as ypoc*ri*tes axe in cristis name and i*n* lyvyng or worchyng doo þe co*ntra*rie to his lawe." Alms are meant "to men *and* wy*m*me*n* þat ben pore febyl, pore blynde *and* pore lame", not for "sterke beggeres" who do great wrong.

Why is "pore" repeated each time? Havens (2005, p. 344) writes on the controversy surrounding this issue, drawing attention to the Bible translation. This passage in Luke 14: 13–14 in the Vulgate reads: "Voca pauperes et debiles, claudos et cecos, et beatus eris." I have compared it to the Early and Late Versions of the Wycliffite Bible, neither which include repetition: "But whanne thou makist a feeste, clepe pore men, feble, crokid, and blynde, and thou schalt be blessid" (Forshall and Madden, 1850). Havens writes that the Middle English translation of this passage "seems to come from the *Defensio Curatorum* of Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh: 'Calle pouere feble, pouere crokede and pouere blynd, and you shalt be blessed'" (2005, p. 344). *Seven Works of Bodily Mercy* seem to belong to this textual tradition. Scase (1989, p. 63) elucidates: "alms should only be given to those who were both poor *and* infirm, and therefore, not to those who were (on account of idleness), simply poor." Havens (2005, p. 344) concludes: "This interpretation of Luke 14 becomes associated with the Lollard distrust of the 'newe sectis' of begging friars." Even so, it may only suggest a more radical orthodox sentiment, such as that of FitzRalph. For a Lollard reader, it might have further implications, that one should only support one's heterodox brethren, those who are acutely aware of keeping the law. The repetition of "pore" brings to mind "pore prestis" or "pore man", known to self-naming in Lollard sectarian language (Hudson, 1985, pp. 170–171), thus meaning "Lollard". The proper recipients of alms were a particular issue for Lollards, as Hudson (1988) elucidates:

> [T]he Latin Lollard sermons compared those who gave their alms to monks or other religious to those who cast bread on standing waters, those who gave to the genuine poor to those who cast their bread on moving waters and who gain thereby the fruit of everlasting felicity. (Hudson. 1988, p. 345)

Lollards disapproved of praying for the dead (Hudson, 1988, p. 309), but for the orthodox person, distributing alms to the poor had a special spiritual meaning: the hope of shortening the time of pain and anguish in Purgatory. Receiving alms at the funeral was a transaction to pray for the soul of the deceased, and there were some suspicions that unworthy people such as drunkards might not honor their part. By the sixteenth century the wish for the honest recipient who is "true Cristen peple" is more often reflected in wills, otherwise the soul might not receive the intended benefit (Duffy, 1992, pp. 360–366).

5.4 *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy*

While the works of bodily mercy alleviate the material distress of others, the works of ghostly mercy are concerned with their spiritual welfare. "The seuen dedis of goostly mercy […] ben betyr þan þe firste" begins Hunter 520, and runs for 27 lines. At first it would seem natural that for a medieval mind actions associated with the soul and not the body would be higher in order. However, considering how infinite the importance of performing works of bodily mercy were for salvation, how much was written about them and how widely they were depicted in church iconography, the emphasis on ghostly works of mercy would agree with Wycliffite ideology. For Wycliffites, preaching, teaching, learning the scripture, and also reproof were of utmost importance (Hudson, 1988, pp. 297, 355). Hunter 520 names the works of ghostly mercy: "Teche, comforte, consaile, chastise, forȝyue, soffir, and preye." What follows is how to help to and impose the right Christian life and beliefs on another, reproaching sin, and not without some force: "Or ellis bi wiþdrawyng of bodily helpe." A Lollard tone might be implied in "soffir": taking "mekely and paciently repreef, myssawe [insult] or ony persecucyon for goddis sake." Does this imply the existence of polarized religious beliefs? Persecution even by burning to death did indeed become a Lollard reality at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Hudson, 1988, p. 15). The mere owning of religious literature in English, sometimes that of *any* English text, might be incriminating (Hudson 1988, p. 166).

5.5 *Five Things We Should Know to Love Jesus Christ*

"The Nature of Man" is a title given by Raymo in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, vol. 7 to "an incomplete prose treatise in British Library MS Harley 2398 and two related manuscripts" (1986, p. 2327) which are Hunter 520 and Garrett 143. Raymo's title is not found in any of the manuscripts, but illustrates the content well. The longer treatise in Harley 2398 is equivalent of the texts 5) *Five Things* and 6) *Body and Soul* of the Primer with additional material. Raymo remarks that the treatise breaks off (1986, p. 2327). Looking at a microfilm of Harley 2398, it is evident that *V þyngis* is only a prologue to the five points the treatise is about to expound on, the first point being 1) *What is the kynde of man in bodi and in soule*. The remaining four sections from the second to the fifth are not found in Hunter 520 nor its "copy", Garrett 143, and surprisingly, neither are the fourth and fifth in Harley 2398.[19]

Five Things is a short text of only 24 lines. The core of it is expressed concisely by Raymo (1986, p. 2327): "Whoever desires to love Christ must have knowledge of his nature, his origin, his Creator, the purpose of his creation, and how he can fulfill that purpose." One might expect an explanation of these five points, but it is at best left very implicit in Hunter 520. Rather, the ensuing text attacks the reader quite ferociously. It soon becomes apparent that he had better *know himself*, in order to avoid everlasting fire.

The text explains: You are no better than a "rude beest",[20] as the spouse says in the Book of Songs: If you know yourself to be fair among women, go after your fellowship and feed the goats.[21] This, according to the text, means: You should know

[19] The additional material in Harley 2398 goes on to explore 2) "The secunde questio*u*n what is þe bygynnynge of man" on fol.129r, line 6. The main point is underlined: "If god ne spareþ nouȝt angels þat synnyd bot sodeynly caste hem oute in to þe fyre of helle". On fol. 129v, line 21, begins the third point 3) "The þrydde questio*u*n who was þy maker þat ij man*nus* knowy*n*g is feiþ *and* loue". The fourth question is never formally addressed. Instead, the next section begins: "What is feyth" (fol. 130 r.). It might be a subsection of the previous third question: however, the text proceeds to the Twelve Articles of Faith (clauses of the Creed).

[20] The word "beest" can refer both to an animal and man as a member of the animal kingdom; figuratively a stupid or brutish person. "Rude" means simple, dumb, or ignorant (*Middle English Dictionary*, 2018). Here the modern English translation might be from a milder "dumb animal" to even "rude beast". The tone of the expression, nevertheless, is meant to be offensive.

[21] For the medieval person, goats would probably bring to mind the cursed who will be damned on the Day of Doom (Matt. 25). The *Middle English Dictionary*, 2018 explains the figurative meanings of the word "goat": either the sin of lust or a person engaged in this type of sin.

the worth of the kind which surpasses all other beauties of this world and can love your maker and be loved by him, otherwise you are only a beast and as a beast shall live like one without savour of sweetness and feed the flesh with foul, stinking lusts which are compared to goats. At the day of doom you shall be set on the left side of the Lord with the damned fellowship for everlasting fire. Then it is necessary to know yourself.

The text "But if þou knowe þisilf faire among wy*m*men, wende out after þe flok of þi felaschip *and* fede þe gete" (p. 353/9) is a quotation from Canticles 1:7. A longer passage reveals a lyrical love song, whose meaning appears to be quite different from Hunter 520:

> Shew me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou liest in the midday, lest I begin to wander after the flocks of thy companions. *If thou know not thyself*, O fairest among women, go forth, and follow after the steps of the flocks, and feed the kids beside the tents of the shepherds. To my company of horsemen, in Pharao's chariots, have I likened thee, O my love. (Cant. 1: 6–8; italics added)

It is curious that Canticles, or the Book of Songs, or Song of Songs, should exist in the Bible, as it does not mention God at all and celebrates the lushly erotic passion, joys and sorrows of lovers. Origen explained in the third century how "the literal carnality of the Song veils a spiritual meaning (*allegoria*) even as the human body houses a soul" (Astell, 1990. p 2). Indeed, medieval thought was heavy with ideas of the body being repulsive, as conceived by Origen:

> [*Amor*] denotes both the cupidinous love of the flesh which comes from Satan ("amor carnalis a Satana veniens") and the love of the spirit which originates in God ("amor spiritus a Deo exordium habens")—and the two forms of love being mutually exclusive: "nemo potest duobus amoribus possideri." (Astell, 1990, p. 3)

For Origen, carnal and spiritual love are parallel. The Song allegorically "refers to the mystical union between the church and Christ or the soul and the Word […] under the appellations of Bride and Bridegroom" (Astell, 1990, p. 2). Origen's interpretation of Canticles "remained the basis for all subsequent interpretation" (Astell, 1990, p. 4). Medieval commentators connect the Bride "with the humble admission of guilt, need, frailty, and thus the openness to receive forgiveness, grace, and transforming love." […] "[I]t is the Bride who obeys the will of God, suffers,

endures, and waits" (Astell, 1990, p. 11). Christians regardless of their gender would learn to associate themselves with the Bride yearning for and finding fulfillment in the love of God. From this perspective the interpretation in Hunter 520 seems to be a deviation from or indifferent to the tradition. This "new reading" seems to be a superficially literal rendering of the passage in Canticles. With a tone of misogynist moralism, the writer aggravates the guilt and fears of his readers, identifying natural pleasures such as that of seeing or embodying physical female beauty with "the flesh which comes from Satan". Goats which possibly only mean with the damned. An unfortunate consequence of both Origen's reading and ideas such as the ones expressed in *Five Things* has been the general, hugely influential Christian tradition of subjugating women. They have been suppressed and punished, equating their humanity with their sexuality and forcing them to feel guilt over the fact that their beautiful bodies mostly win the desire of men over God. Associated with the flesh, women have been seen as "lower" by men who have associated themselves with reason. The philosophy of this mind/body dualism and its relationship to loving God is described in the following text in the Primer (see 4.6). *Five Things* itself could be summarized, like many others in the Primer: You should love God more than anything else in the world and avoid sin if you want to attain salvation.

5.6 *What is the Kind of Man in Body and in Soul*

Body and Soul is a short tract on the nature of man. Although it follows *Five Things* in all three known manuscripts, it works well as an independent treatise and is more composed in its tone than *Five Things*. It derives from the philosophy or early psychology of Plato, Aristotle, Origen, St. Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas, discussing the hierarchical relationships between body and soul and their faculties and subdivisions. The higher parts of the soul should govern the lower parts in order for the man to unite with God.

While *Body and Soul* seems to be rather unique in the sense that no other examples of the text are known except those in Hunter 520, Garrett 143, and Harley 2398 (Jolliffe, 1974, p. 75; Raymo, 1986, p. 2327), it seems to be rather crude articulation of common orthodox ideas on the topic. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English,*

vol. 7 describes three other treatises which also mention the three powers of man's soul: Mind, Reason, and Will. *The Powers of Man's Soul*[22] and *How Man is Made to the Image of God*[23]both appear in manuscripts "with strongly Wycliffite associations" (Raymo, 1986, p. 2325). *Iche Crysten Sowle Hath Thre Myghtes*[24]*,* deals with reforming and perfecting Reason, Mind, and Will in order to remove obstacles of sin between man and God (Raymo, 1986, pp. 2325–2326).

The text begins in an instructive tone: "Thou schalt vndirstonde…" It is the nature of man which one must understand for one's salvation. The issue is not of only believing but also of understanding. The text is not easy to follow. I will try to open the argument here: Man has a twofold nature: the bodily, earthly, and beastlike Flesh that was created first, and the ghostly, heavenly, and spiritual Soul which is worthier. Having a soul differentiates man from beast, and the soul should govern the flesh like the lord governs the servant. The soul is of two kinds: Sensuality which originates in the flesh and takes care of it through the five bodily senses, and the Spirit which only cares about ghostly things, that is, judges between good and evil, truth and falsehood, and harm and profit. Yet these are one and not two.

The Spirit has three powers which are Mind, Will, and Understanding, yet these are one, made in the likeness of the Trinity. The Spirit in man, which beasts lack, can mind its maker, love Him through good will, and know Him through his understanding. By minding, loving, and knowing God, man has God in the same way as the servant has the lord, the child the father, the wife the spouse, and the disciple the master. And just like the lesser party of these relationships, in respective order, the Spirit owes the Lord service, worship, heartly love, and dread.

The lower part of the soul, Sensuality, informs the Spirit through the five bodily senses to understand and love the invisible Godhead. The Spirit must master Sensuality and move it upward toward loving God. Otherwise if Sensuality masters the Spirit, it draws it downward to loving earthly creatures. In this case it does against its nature and unables it to his own heritage.

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[22] *The Powers of Man's Soul* is extant in Bodleian Library Bodley 938 and Cambridge University Library Kk.6.26 (Raymo, 1986, p. 2325).
[23] *How Man is Made to the Image of God* is extant in seven MSS, based on *De Trinitate* by Augustine (ibid.).
[24] *Iche Crysten Sowle Hath Thre Myghtes* is found in Bodleian Library Bodley 6921 (ibid.).

Body and Soul is a distant, christianized derivative of Aristotle's psychology in *De anima*. Aristotle discussed the nature of the soul, dividing it into hierarchies and faculties. For him, the soul "is the actuality of a body that has life." Plants have a vegetative soul with the powers of nutrition, growth, and reproduction. Animals have a sensitive soul with the powers of locomotion and perception. As animals have senses, they also have desires; some have memory and imagination. Only humans have a rational soul with the powers of thought and understanding.

In Christianity, denigration of the body derived among others from the prolific and extremely influential early ascetic and theologian Origen (c. 184–c.253). He embraced the Platonic theory that a human being is really a soul, not body. Astell explains:

> Origen believed in the preexistence of rational souls who received their bodies as an outward sign of their fall away from God. The body as such is thus not integral to the human being, who is a soul temporarily placed in a body. Fallen and joined to the body, the rational soul (*mens*) loses its initial fervor for the Good and becomes a mere *anima* or *psyche*, its spiritual power dissipated by the flesh. Overcoming carnal desires ultimately enables the soul to return to its original state and become once more a *mens*. (Astell, 1990, p. 4)

As the love of flesh and the love of God were mutually exclusive, each bodily desire, indeed, intense erotic love, was to be directed toward God. Corporeal drives that were the soul's punishment become the medium of its ascent from the prison of the flesh toward God's realm. Origen is said to have castrated himself (Astell, 1990, p. 3). Later Christian theologians such as St. Augustine affirmed humankind to be both bodily and spiritual, as the doctrines of Creation, Incarnation, and Bodily Resurrection required it (Astell, 1990, p. 5). However, St. Augustine too believed that the soul was superior to and independent of the body (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2018). Theologians of the twelfth-century renaissance began exploring the relationship between body and soul from a psychological point of view and attempted to systematize the *via mystica* (Astell, 1990, p. 5). It is "the spiritual journey of the soul towards union with God" through the stages of "purgation, illumination and ecstasy" (Bodden, 2016, Ch. 5).

Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–1274) synthesized Aristotle's philosophy and early Christian theology, such as that of Origen and St. Augustine. Aquinas's system of

theology was so influential that it is still alive in the Catholic Church; in Thomism human nature consists of an immortal soul united with matter, the body. The soul has the powers of willing and knowing. Sense experience leads to human knowledge through the reflective mind. Humans and lower creatures naturally orient toward and love God, and in humans these natural abilities are perfected and elevated by supernatural grace. The final end of a human being should be blessedness in knowing God and being loved by God (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2018).

6 Theory of Editing Medieval Manuscripts

> Editions of any sort are intergral to that trans-historical contact that underpins modern study. The human sciences depend upon documentary access, and on a general belief that our access to such documents is accurate. The model for producing such a formalised presentation of a text derives from the reproduction of historical documents: one first finds, and then accurately transcribes what remains, most typically a unique record […]. This renders this portion of the archive available for those interpretative acts which render historical study possible. (Hanna, 2015, p.1)

Hanna describes the transmission of the sovereign cultural text of the Middle Ages, the Latin Bible or Vulgate. It was believed to be revealed by God himself and thus unimpeachable. St. Jerome had produced the original in Palestine in the late fourth century—but during the thirteenth century, most circulating copies promulgated mainly from Paris included widespread variation (Hanna, 2015, p. 1). Before the era of printing, each manuscript was considered not a copy, but original and unique. Traditional textual criticism was prepossessed with uncovering the "original" abstract literary work by the author, regardless of whether any such original survived (Marttila, 2014, pp. 17–18). In the case of the Vulgate, it was uncovering the Word of God.

According to Hanna, medieval texts of the widest circulation, such as the Vulgate, were copied for centuries by hand after their composition and only a tiny portion was authorially supervised. Anyone could copy who knew how to write, copy for whatever purpose and whatever extract they liked from their source text. Dates, sources, reasons for copying, or any owners, even later ones, are seldom mentioned in the manuscripts. Usually there are signs of disruption in the texts, and no copies are ever identical.[25] Their mystery can only be answered by interrogating the text itself (Hanna, 2015, p. 2).

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[25]The Primer in Hunter 520 and six texts in Garrett 143 are "copies". Garrett 143, however, contains scribal mistakes of meaning which do not make sense, for example: In *Body and Soul*, Hunter 520 reads: "And [the soul] ow^{t} to haue þe fleische in gou*er*nayle as the **lord** þe *ser*uaunt" (p. 354, lines 11–13; boldface added), while Garrett 143 reads: "& [the soule] owȝt to haue þe flesche in gouernayle as þe **world** þe seruaunt" (ff. 36v–37r, lines 20–2; boldface added). In the context, *world* makes no

Manuscripts were useful to someone; their production was motivated by potentially individualized reasons. In the same way, on the practical level, an editor must conceive her audience: what to present and how to present it. What the text should be is not a simple question (Hanna, 2015, pp. 2–3). Gillespie describes how Hanna's premise always is "that literature happens in communities, and was produced and read or heard by real people in real communities in real life" (Gillespie, 2017, p. xiv). This was the case with the original manuscript, and it is also the case with an edition made thereof. The original audience of the Primer was probably a late fourteenth century English layperson reading the text either to themselves for their private devotion or reading it out loud to family members or a circle of friends at a time when religion arched over a person's life in ways almost incomprehensible in the twenty-first century. Over six hundred years later, the audience of this edition might include philologists of English familiar with Middle English variation but less so with the historical and religious context; textual scholars; historians and theologians. What kind of edition would benefit their needs?

Ralph Hanna elucidates some objects of editions:

> Given that there may be a myriad of potential manuscript copies of any text […], what is the object that the edition should present? Any available copy? The fullest copy? A particularly interesting manuscript version? A particularly interesting form of the text? The oldest copy? The best text available (perhaps from some chosen sample)? A text constructed from all the copies one can find? (Hanna, 2015, p. 3)

Several scholars (Foulet and Speer, 1979, p. 42; Shillingsburg, 1986, p. 52; and Williams and Abbott, 1999, p. 71) suggest a fundamental division of edition types into critical and documentary (or "diplomatic") editions. The former presents "a text that mixes material from two or more versions according to some critical dictum" and the latter "a text identical to that in a historical document" (Shillingsburg, 1986, p. 52). The Primer does not exist in a "myriad of copies", but indeed only in two other copies, a complete version in Garrett 143 and a partial version in Harley 2398, which contains the last two of the six texts. As this edition is rather limited in length,

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sense. The pair "servant and lord" belongs to the allegorical structure of the text and is repeatedly expressed correctly later on in Garrett 143.

of Hanna's alternatives, a single-text edition of the Primer would closest answer to either "any available copy".

Marttila discusses how much of editing historical manuscripts has been concerned about making a critical edition of a text, that is, comparing different manuscripts and trying to find the most "authentic" authorial work beneath the plural versions. This reduction of multiple variants could be printed as a single text and used for literary criticism. From the reconstruction of biblical, classical, or other literary works of valorized individuals, this approach spread into editing all kinds of texts, including anonymous Middle English texts, although not necessarily best suited for the purpose. Critical editing was the dominant paradigm of the twentieth century (Marttila, 2014, pp. 59–77).

Critics of critical editing argue that editorial choices made to "establish" a text for others to "interpret" are not objective but very contextualized (Shillingsburg, 1986, p. 86). The method should not be seen as universal but as a practical tool for the special purpose of literary analysis (Eggert, 1991, p. 65), and "one among a range of options" (Hanna, 1992, p. 129). The methods of critical editing are not well-suited for understanding medieval textuality and transmission of medieval texts, the importance of the scribal language for linguistic study, or digital editions not based on the printed medium (Marttila, 2014, pp. 63).

The Primer in Hunter 520 is not an artistically important nor theologically unique work, but a collection of short and instructive tracts of pastoral guidance with a unifying eschatological sentiment, meant to influence the spiritual and practical life of its readers. With only two complete, extant manuscripts, it seems bold to think of uncovering an underlying authorial work to be revealed by a critical edition. However, the exact aspects of this manuscript as a historical document are important evidence and may give clues for further research about the production, literary transmission, and the culture and whereabouts of the audience of this manuscript. A single text also was something the medieval reader really held in her hands (Marttila, 2014, p. 82).

Documentary editions "should not pretend to be noneditorial" since "the editor is always present in the organization of the material and the transcription of source

documents" (Vanhouette, 2006, p. 164), as well as in choosing the document for reproduction (Shillingsburg, 1986, pp. 84–85). The basic premise of documentary editing is that it should contain "the words, phrases and puctuation of a single source that should be readily and conveniently available to the reading audience" (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008, p. 87). Interaction between the chosen editorial methods and the source results in a product which could have been made otherwise. Thus a documentary edition is not a replica but an "analytic re-representation" of the original document (Marttila, 2014, p. 81). In this MA thesis, this will be illustrated by the two different types of documentary editions for different audiences of the Primer in Hunter 520. I will try to analytically interpret and bring out relevant features for each audience, while also aiming toward transparency of principles.

> Documentary editing […] is hardly an *un*critical endeavour. It demands as much intelligence, insight, and hard work as its critical counterpart, combined with a passionate determination to preserve for modern readers the nuances of evidence. (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008, p. 3)

Documentary editors strive to produce a verified text which modern audiences can read and trust; to a provide access to documents for the wide audience who do not own originals in their private archives; and to contextualize the documents so that readers can more easily understand the "historical, literary or technical context in which to make the best use of them" (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008, pp. 36–37). Scholarly research begins, not ends, with documentary editions (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008, p. 289). The manuscript can be presented through different approaches. The methodological frameworks of documentary editing can be described in a cline of decreasing fidelity to the manuscript as follows:

> (1) photographic and typographic facsimiles
> (2) editorial texts requiring symbols or textual annotation
> (3) diplomatic transcriptions
> (4) 'inclusive texts' and 'expanded transcriptions'
> (5) clear text (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008)

(1) Photographic facsimiles are useful especially for paleographers, but are difficult to read by the untrained eye. Neither do they include searchable, digital encoding for historical linguists. A facsimile can provide an editorial transcription with transparency to the interpretation of the editorial procedure, as well as features of the

material paratext of the manuscript that cannot be encoded, such as the type of parchment, the orthography, layout, size, and other physical characteristics of the document (Marttila, 2014, p. 84, 29). However, it should not be regarded as a substitute for examining the original manuscript. A typographic facsimile aims to retain as much of the physical appearance of the manuscript as possible, but in a quite different modern typesetting (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008, p. 86).

(2) Editorial texts requiring symbols or textual annotation show layout features, special symbols, damage to the manuscript, and added and deleted passages. This is not really a "level" but an aspect than can be employed in types 3–5 of editing (Kline and Holbrook Perdue, 2008, pp. 152–161).

(3) A diplomatic transcript pays no attention to appearance, but rather to the textual content: exact spelling, including original capitalization and punctuation, are retained, whereas, for example, lineation is not (Greetham, 1992). Rhŷs and Evans's late nineteenth century description is accurate even today:

> A diplomatic reproduction differs from a facsimile chiefly in one particular,—it does not profess to give the special form of the manuscript characters, but it should give character for character, letter for letter, word for word, spacing for spacing, error for error, deletion for deletion, correction for correction, rubric for rubric; in short, there must be no tampering of any kind, not even with the punctuation. (Rhŷs and Evans, 1887, p. xiv)

(4) "Inclusive texts" and "expanded transcriptions" slightly standardize and emend the transcription of the original manuscript, reporting details of, for example, corrections, deletions or additions in the text itself with symbols, footnotes or in notes at the end of the book. (5) Clear text editions have been silently emended to run smoothly, providing no clue for any changes that have been made. A single edition may incorporate elements from many categories (Marttila, 2014, pp. 86–88).

Robinson and Solopova discuss another way of describing editorial choice in fidelity to the manuscript. This can be expressed as four levels of transcription in a cline of decreasing fidelity: (1) *graphic*, (2) *graphetic*, (3) *graphemic*, and (4) *regularized*. A *graphic* representation preserves every mark and space in the manuscript, focusing on the visual a whereas a *graphetic* transcription only distinguishes between all the distinct letter-types, that is, variants of the same letter, such as "long", "2-shaped", and "short" letter *r* (see Ch. 8). A *graphemic* transcription will not distinguish

between separate letter forms, but will preserve each manuscript spelling, such as "she" or "sche". A *regularized* transcription will regularize the spellings to a particular norm, possibly the one considered authoritative. Usually a transcription will mainly belong to one category, but include some features of another (Robinson and Solopova, 2018).

Marttila (2014, p. 87) discusses the relationship of these four levels of transcription to Kline and Holbrook Purdue's frameworks. The type facsimile may function on the graphetic level, and diplomatic transcriptions tend to function on the graphemic level, where different letterforms are abstracted according to the smallest distinct semantical unit.

More recently, there has been rising interest in the physical, material document and role of its codicological and paleographical features (Marttila, 2014, pp. 17–18), as the mere text cannot represent all significant liguistic information. (Marttila 2014, p. 30). These include binding, material, and size; whether the document is a codex, roll, or sheet; lineation and marginalia; rubrication and decorated initials, illustrations and illuminations; hand size; decorative flourishes; scripts and letterforms (Marttila 2014, pp. 31–33).

This thesis aims at a documentary edition of the Primer for philologically, linguistically, theologically, or historically oriented use. Edition 1 is a diplomatic representation that uses computer symbols to represent the abbreviations in the manuscript. It retains medieval punctuation marks and spacing, as well as some of the layout features, such as the original lineation, page breaks, and rubrics, and points out marks in the marginalia. Also decorated initials and ascenders, as well as letters displaying emphasis (see Ch. 8) are distinguished. Footnotes are used to clarify manuscript features when necessary. Edition 1 gives more information than Edition 2 on the exact abbreviations and visual features of the original manuscript, but requires some expertise to read. Paleographers and people who study abbreviations will find Edition 1 useful. Edition 2 is what might be called an "interpretive diplomatic edition" in the French tradition (Marttila, 2014, pp. 87–88): abbreviations have been expanded in italics, and modern spacing, punctuation, and capitalization added. I have located the Bible passages quoted or paraphrased in the text and provided the reference in the footnotes to help the reader contextualize the texts. Difficult words

are explained in the glossary. The emphasis of Edition 2 is on facilitated legibility, ignoring visual features. It will be useful for those who want to understand the content of the text, such as philologists, theologians and historians. Both representations are an interpretation of a diplomatic transcription and use textual annotation. The first type is higher up in fidelity to the manuscript in Kline and Holbrook Purdue's classification, as it uses more editorial symbols and is visually closer to the manuscript, whereas the second is lower in the cline. Both are essentially graphemic.

7 Edition 1

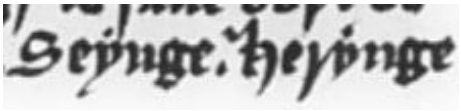
> [T]here is no escape from the demand to make the edited text comprehensible and transparent—the text sets the problem which cannot be avoided (Gillespie and Hudson, 2013, p. 1)

Transcribing a manuscript into computer-readable form is an act of interpretation. It involves translating the system of signs on the manuscript to that of the computer. It can never be "final" or "definitive", but it can aim to make such distinctions which are useful for other scholars. The computer font will normally contain only a limited range of forms of letters, while the varieties found in a manuscript can be boundless. The transcriber must strive to resolve ambiguities as she decodes the manuscript. A printed edition is bound to what can be printed and is theoretically less versatile than the computer edition (Robinson and Solopova, 2018). As Roberts aptly says: "With a language that is unsettled in its writing system there can be no overall consistency in transcribing its letter-forms" (2005, p. 8).

This edition is restrained by a lack of available fonts for certain historical forms of letters, punctuation marks, and abbreviation symbols. For this reason, the edition will not aim at *graphetic* representation, where each distinct allograph or variant letterform of the same semantic unit is represented with its own character. Another reason why *graphemic* representation is chosen is to make computer searches even slightly easier, when all letter-shapes are not distinguished. This manuscript displays three types of letter *r* ("short", "2-shaped", and "long") and three types of letter s ("long", "sigma-shaped", and "short"); sometimes *y* is dotted and sometimes *i* has a diagonal slash. The closer one looks, the more variation one finds. It would be inconsistent to distinguish those letter types for which a letter is available, such as long *s*, but not sigma-shaped *s* or long *r*, for example.

Capitalization is complicated in Middle English manuscripts and difficult to transcribe even close to being "definitive". Robinson and Solopova (2018) describe the Middle English system of emphasis which differs from modern capitalization. Instead of the lower- and upper-case letters known to the modern reader, manuscript letter sizes display a complex hierarchy of prominence. Emphatic forms may be

expressed by letters emboldened in different ways, ornamented capitals, and various sizes of letters, sometimes regardless even of whether they are, in fact, of minuscule, not majuscule, form.



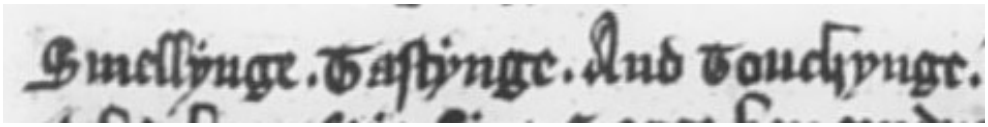


Figure 2. ”Seynge. Herynge” at the bottom of p. 337 and “Smellynge. Tastynge. And Touchynge.” at the top of p. 338 display emphatic, majuscule initial letters. Notice the *punctus* functioning much like a modern comma, but missing where the page is turned. A pause would occur there naturally without indication. The dotted *y* is present here in all other names of senses except the last one.

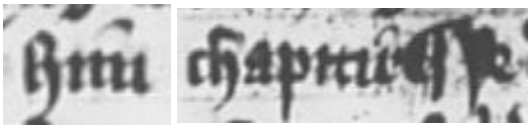


Figure 3. Examples of diagonal slash above i, often curving above the next letter. “him” p. 342/3, “chapitir” p. 343/3

Colors are sometimes used to emphasize certain letters. Different colors and shades of ink and the force applied by the pen on the parchment are difficult or impossible for the transcriber to perceive on a black-and-white digital image of the manuscript, especially if it is of low resolution. Not only were letters involved in expressing emphasis, but also punctuation, paragraph marks, and layout, which together formed a complex system. It is at times difficult to distinguish which forms are emphatic or unemphatic, because height, not form, distinguishes emphasis. The scribe may not even have an emphatic form of a letter. For example, in the Anglicana script, the lower-case letter *a* usually ascends a little above the other letters in the word (Roberts, 2005). An emphasized initial letter *a* is especially difficult to distinguish from an unemphasized one. Like Robinson and Solopova, I will use a simplified system with capital letters to represent ornamental letters and boldface.

In late medieval England literacy was not everyman’s skill, and this is reflected in the punctuation of the time. According to Clemens and Graham (2007, p. 82), punctuation functioned typically as an aid to the oral delivery of a text rather than as

a means of clarifying grammatical structure in sentences for the silent reader, as is usual in modern times. Neither were the rules of punctuation as set as today; thus the range of meanings conveyed by medieval punctuation marks can only be assessed within the context of a each text and not as theoretical absolutes in isolation.

The punctuation in the Primer has been transcribed as it appears in the manuscript. There are only three different marks: the punctus, either baseline or midline, and the punctus elevatus. According to Clemens and Graham (2007, p. 85), the punctus indicates the places where the reader, possibly reading out loud to others, would pause for a moment, whereas the punctus elevatus indicates a major pause. I have left a space before a punctuation mark consistently, because the space is sometimes very hard to define. The way the scribe uses punctuation seems to be in unison with the presence of dotted *y*'s: On pp. 337–340 the punctus is a firm and solid dot, placed on the baseline. It indicates not only minor pauses between words but also the end of a sentence; punctus elevatus is used as a major medial pause. From p. 341 onwards only the punctus elevatus and the midline punctus are used. The midline punctus is a small dot made with a light touch of the pen. The end of a sentence may be but is not necessarily marked with a punctus elevatus. If not, the next sentence begins with a paragraph mark. There seem to be space left for punctuation which may indicate that it is be original work of the scribe and not a later addition. The change in punctuation may be the result of the scribe copying diligently from an exemplar, containing variation, which may have been the work of many scribes. Or possibly there was a break in his work and he started to write in way more typical to his usage or dialect.

The type of script used in a manuscript, as well as other visual aspects such as layout, decoration, glossing, and correction give clues about its history, formality, interpretation, purpose, production and provenance (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 135). A problem with the digital image of Hunter 520 is its relatively low image quality which does not show details such as hairline strokes very distincly. The scribe displays a lot of variation in his use of letter forms, punctuation, and emphasis ("capital letters"). In analyzing the script and letterforms in the Primer, I have used Parkes's *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (1969); Roberts's *Guide to scripts used in English writings up to 1500* (2005, pp. 6–12, 161–208); and Clemens and

Graham's *Introduction to manuscript studies* (2007, pp. 135–178). Different scholars use slightly different terminology for the visual features of scripts.

The script used in Hunter 520 belongs to the Gothic system and is more precisely *littera cursiva anglicana formata hybrida* (Roberts, 2005). The grade *formata* means that the pen is lifted between *minims* (the basic strokes that form the letters *i*, *u*, *m*, and *n*) producing a higher-grade script. It is not always easy to distinguish between the letters and combinations of letters formed by minims: combinations of *i*, *u*, *m*, and *n* may look like an unidentified queue of minims on the page. *Hybrida* means that the hand incorporates features of different scripts, assimilating features of both *textualis*, a formal book hand that was relatively slow and arduous to write, and *cursiva*, in which the pen was minimally lifted, enabling a greater speed, and used for documents. *Hybrida* was a relatively formal hand but quicker and thus cheaper to produce than *textualis* (Roberts, 2005).

Roberts describes typical features of the Anglicana script, which was a widely used bookhand in England from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The following apply to Hunter 520:

> the two-compartment Anglicana **a**; […] the tight **g**, sometimes described as shaped like the numeral 8, which looks rather like a pair of spectacles seen sideways on; the long **r**, descending below the line; the sigma-shaped **s** that looks a little like the numeral 6; **w** with its two long initial strokes completed by bows; […] the Tironian sign (Roberts, 2005, p. 161)

In the Primer, ascenders, as in *l* and *h*, are looped, not "horned", this latter being a feature of textualis. Gothic textualis features in the Primer include unlooped *d* and *f* and long *s* that descend below the baseline. "Biting of bows" is fairly common in the manuscript. Clemens and Graham define it as "when two consecutive letters have bows facing one another, the bows overlap and share a stroke" (2007, p. 154), e.g. *da*vid p. 338/12.

The Primer shows considerable variation in the execution of the rubrics. Only the first rubric "Here foleweþ þe v bodili wittus" (p. 337/line 1) is in the same hand and script as the text.

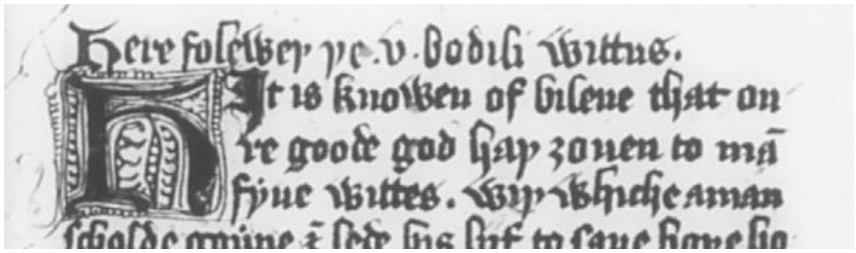


Figure 4. The first rubric on p. 337 looks like the main text, except for its color, which is presumably red, according to Young and Aitken (1908, p. 422).

Some rubrics look "grand", having been written in a larger Anglicana in a space left for them by the scribe: "The ten Comau*n*deme*n*tis" (p. 342/19,), "The Seuen workis of mercy" (p. 350/7), "What is þe kynde of ma*n* i*n* bodi *and* i*n* soule" (p. 354/1).

Figure 5. The rubrics on pp. 350 and 354 are distinguished from the main text by a larger script. The word "bodily" was possibly added later.

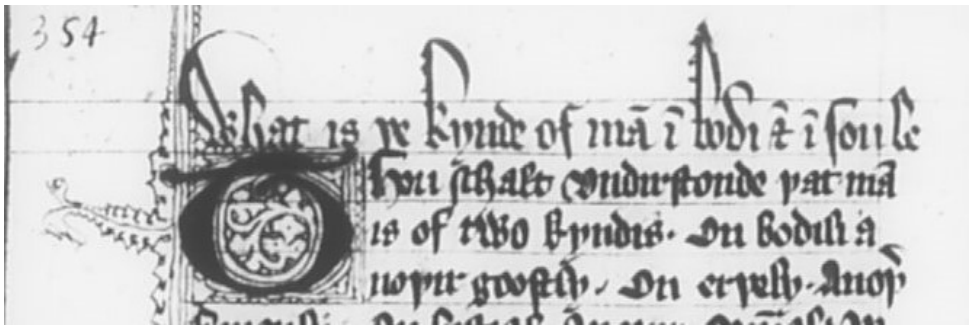


Figure 6. Starting from p. 341, the ascenders of letters on the top line have been embellished, also those of the rubric at the top of p. 354.

Some rubrics resemble "scribbles", yet in another script. They were probably added at a later date, filling available spaces at the ends of the line and sometimes running into the margins. They also mark different "heestis" (commandments), if there is space.

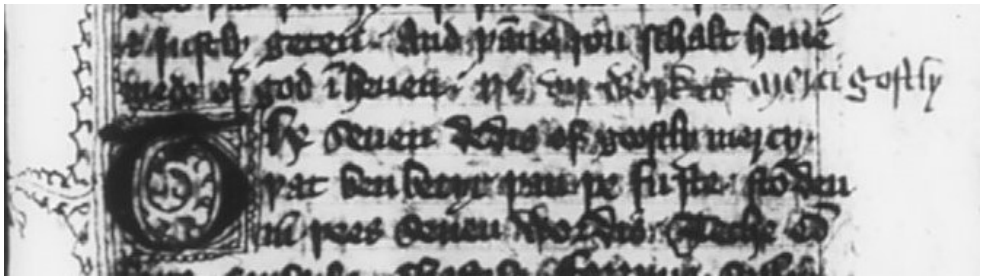


Figure 7. The rubric on p. 351/15 is barely legible. It seems to have been added later, extending to the margin. The presumably red color makes it stand out from the text. It seems to read: "þe vij workis merci gostly".

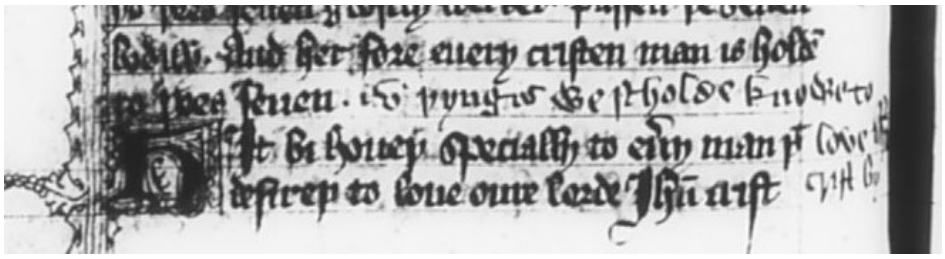


Figure 8. The rubric on p. 352/20, which seems not to have been planned to be fitted in, but was added later, requires an educated guess. I take it to read: "v þyngis we scholde knowe to love *Ihesu* crist by". The exact *Nomen Sacrum*, or holy abbreviation for Jesus, is undecipherable. As on the bottom line of this page and commonly in the manuscript, it is "Ihū". Notice that the decorated initial H is in a two-line, not in the normal three-line form because the scribe ran out of lines.

The same additional hand has written the rubricated running titles for pages 338–349, starting on the top left-hand page and continuing to the top right-hand page. For the *Five Wits*, the rubric reads "v bodily / wytt*es*" and for the *Ten Commandments*, "Brekers / of þe X hestis" which seems to illustrate the meaning of the text to its audience—making the breakers and breaking of the law explicit. The remaining pages of the Primer do not have running titles, which may indicate that the first two texts were of greater significance to the book's audience.

Figure 9. The rubricated running title for *Ten Commandments*, conceived differently from the title in the main text by whoever added it: "Brekers of þe X hest*is*". Notice also the decorated ascenders on the top line.

There are three allographs of *s* in the manuscript, long *s* being the most common type. It appears in word-initial and medial positions, but never at final position, where short *s* is used. The (minuscule) sigma-shaped *s* that looks a little like the number 6, also known as "Anglicana round s", is found in certain types of words in word-initial position. The use of sigma-shaped s begins on the fifth page of the Primer, p. 341, where also the type of punctuation changes. It is used most heavily at the end of the Primer: 21 times in *Body and Soul*, 8 times in *Five Things*. It seems to be closely associated with numbers and theologically expressive vocabulary (expanded abbreviations underlined): e.g. *s*ecunde 343/16, *s*ixte 346/22, *s*euen 350/8; *s*ynne 342/15, *s*yn<u>n</u>eres 341/15, *s*ilf 348/4, *s*olasseþ 352/6, *s*offriþ 352/11, *s*eint 351/8, *S*oule 354/10, *S*pirit 355/1, *S*ensualite 354/17, *s*er<u>u</u>aunt 355/12, *s*pouse 353/9, *s*ustinau<u>n</u>ce [wiþ treuthe] 354/5, *S*apience 348/7, *s*ight 355/21, [veyn] *s*pekeres 343/18, *s*ermou<u>n</u> 342/21, *s*ellen [trouþe], *s*myten [breþeren] 346/13, *s*ignes 351/1, *s*ongis 353/9, *s*auo<u>ur</u> of *s*wetnesse 353/17. It is possible that words with sigma-shaped *s* reflect the usage of the religious community where the text was produced. Even so, the scribe occasionally uses long *s*, e. g. *s*oule 354/13, *s*owle 337/6, *s*elf 356/22.

The sigma-shaped *s* appears in varying heights, small (*s*ixte 340/22), middling (*s*euenþe 347/17) and large sizes (*S*apience 348/7, *S*oule 354/22), possibly suggesting different degrees of emphasis, but even generally the scribes letter-sizes even within a single word are somewhat variable when studied closely.

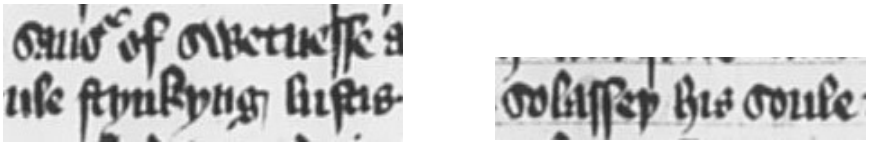


Figure 10. a) Three allographs of *s* on p. 353, lines 17–18. Sigma-shaped initial *s* in *s*auo<u>ur</u> of *s*wetnesse. Long *s* in medial and initial positions: swetne*ss*e, *s*tynkyng lu*s*tis. Short s in final position: lusti*s*. b) Three allographs of *s* on p. 354, line 6. Initial sigma-shaped s: *s*olasseþ, *s*oule. Medial long *s*: sola*ss*eþ. Final short s: hi*s*.

For the letter *r*, the manuscript displays three allographs, of which short *r* is used for most cases. The 2-shaped *r* is used consistently with only few exceptions in certain kinds of words, regularly after *o* but sometimes following also *y*, *p*, *d*, *þ*, and even *e*. E.g. fo*r* (338/5, throughout MS), o*r* (340/10, throughout MS), moo*r*e (339/8), wo*r*schip (342/21), wo*r*lde 339/22, wo*r*cheres (343/19), wo*r*kes (344/7), ffo*r*nicato*r*es (347/1), neiȝbo*r*es (349/10), huy*r*e (339/12), p*r*udense (340/2), nadd*r*us (340/8), þ*r*idde (340/21), he*r*efo*r*e (339/11). The use of the 2-shaped *r* after *o* originally indicated an abbreviation of *-orum* in Latin and was used already in Anglo-Saxon times "in other places where *r* followed *o*" (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 146).

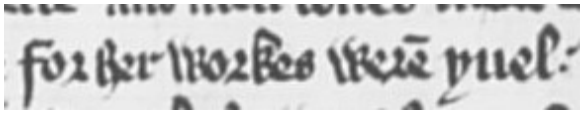


Figure 11. Two allographs of *r*. 2-shaped *r* in fo*r*, wo*r*kes, we*r*en. Short *r* in he*r*. Notice *punctus elevatus* at the end.

Long *r* occurs somewhat arbitrarily in words some of which also appear with short *r*. Long *r* is used at the beginning of the Primer, 15 times on pp. 337–340, but when the punctuation changes on p. 341, it is dropped almost completely, to be used only five times in the rest of the Primer. Like words with sigma-shaped *s*, it is associated with words of strong meaning in religious vocabulary: c*r*ist 338/3, t*r*ewe [in crist] 340/9, me*r*cy 351/16, cle*r*kus 339/7, he*r*ynge 337/6, [feendus] c*r*y 339/19, flate*r*ynge 339/20, leche*r*ie 347/3, ha*r*lot*r*ie 339/21, pet*r*ie 339/21, cha*r*mus [of þe fend] 339/22, ha*r*m 339/17, de*r*kenesse 338/11, G*r*egor 338/2, Nume*r*us 345/22.

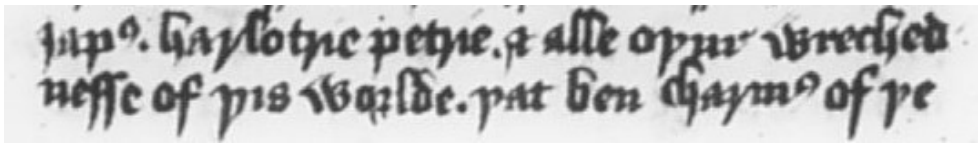


Figure 12. Three allographs of *r* at the bottom of p. 339. Long *r* in ha*r*lot*r*ie, pet*r*ie and cha*r*mus. Short *r* in oþu*r*, w*r*echednesse. 2-shaped *r* in wo*r*lde.

The letter *y* is dotted in some parts of the manuscript but undotted in others. As I cannot distinguish all other minor aspects of the scribe's usage, I will only consider the dot as part of the letter and will not transcribe it either. It is of note, however, that

the scribe dots his *y*'s on pages 337–340 of the Primer, then ceasing, only to resume dotting on p. 357.

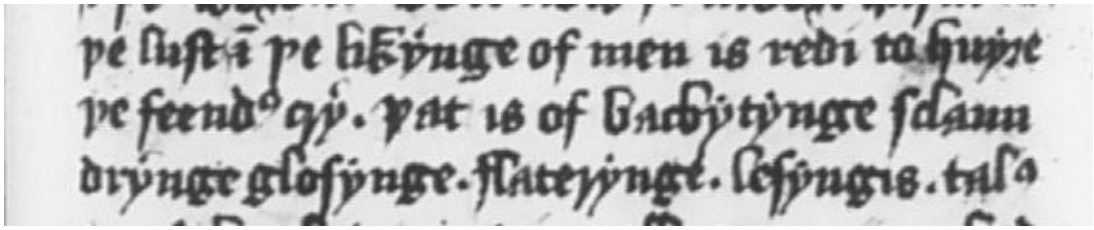


Figure 13. The dot on *y* on p. 339/18–20 sometimes looks like an inverted comma, at other times like a punctus. Notice the barely visible trace of a diagonal slash above *i* in "*i*s red*i*".

Also the letter *i* sometimes has a diagonal, curved slash above it, but not always. In the history of handwriting, the slash would later evolve into the dot over *i* (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 149). The letter *v* is generally preferred for the vowel phoneme /u/ in word-initial position, e.g. *v*s 345/20, *v*nbuxum 345/21, but for the consonant phoneme /v/ in word-medial position, *u* is preferred, e.g. vnle*u*eful 342/16.

At the beginning of words, *f* sometimes appears as double (*ff*) in positions where the scribe might be expected to use a majuscule at the beginning of a clause, or where a single word itself is emphasized. I will transcribe double *f* as Ff, ff, or FF depending on the weight of the stroke.

In the Primer, each line on every page is completely filled from margin to margin. Words that do not fit completely are continued on the next line without any equivalent of a modern hyphen to mark the break. This may lead to ambiguous cases especially if the manuscript is damaged or soiled or when there is an ink stain or an unusual spelling. I will indicate ambiguity in square brackets with an explanation in the footnotes. Words are generally separated by spaces but this is not always clear. Word division is not consistent. The scribe has a tendency at times to write the indefinite article or pronoun together with the noun, for example, "aman", occurring throughout the manuscript, and "echeman" (340/9, 339/11). This may reflect what was normal Latin practice until the thirteenth century: to leave "no space between monosyllabic prepositions and the following word" (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 146). Numerals, both Roman and Arabic, are generally marked off from the surrounding text with a middot on both sides of the numeral. This applies for single numerals in the margins as well. The Arabic numerals 4 and 5 are in their medieval

form where 4 resembles an X with a loop on top and 5 looks like a modern 4 or 9, hand-written in one stroke.

Medieval scribes used standard abbreviations designed for writing Latin also when they wrote in English primarily in order to save time and expensive parchment, but also to justify lines, to avoid word division, or to emphasize certain words (Roberts, 2005, p. 12). Latin orthography was stable in the fourteenth century whereas that of English was not, and so in the vernacular abbreviations could not be used excessively to allow comprehension. There are not overly many abbreviations per page in the Primer, about twenty at most. If a text was solemn, there would appear less abbreviations, with an exception: there were about a dozen *Nomina Sacra* or "sacred names" which would appear in abbreviated form for symbolic reasons, such as *dominus*, *deus*, or *sanctus*. (Roberts, 2005, p. 9.) A common *Nomen Sacrum* in the Primer is Ihū[26], the abbreviation for the name of Jesus. This abbreviation originally employed the Greek capital letter *eta*, which represents the vowel sound e but looks like a Latin H. The involvement of a Greek letter was forgotten and what originally was Iesu became Ihesu when written in full by late medieval scribes (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 89, 92). Page 354/5 displays the word Spūal, derived from the Nomen Sacrum Spū, Sp*irit*u (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 93). This was a way to avoid mentioning the holy name. (Traube, 1907, pp.17–18).

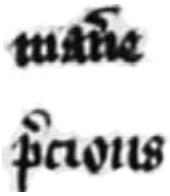
In Edition 1 meant for historical linguists the abbreviations have not been expanded but marked with computer characters that somewhat resemble those of the scribe. The phonetic and linguistic values of brevigraphs, abbreviations which stand for more than one letter, may be ambiguous and inconsistent even within the same manuscript. (Robinson and Solopova, 2018. Expanding brevigraphs is an art of making educated guesses in line with the scribe's most common usage elsewhere in the manuscript.

As a source for expanding abbreviations I have used Clemens and Graham's *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (2007, pp. 89–93) and Cappelli's *Lexicon*

[26] This abbreviation originally made use of the Greek letter H or *eta*, the equivalent of Latin e, for I*e*sus, but by the thirteenth century *eta* is commonly taken as Latin h and the form I*h*esus or I*h*esu appears in the manuscripts (Roberts, 2005, p. 12).

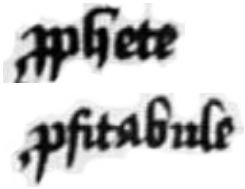
Abbreviaturarum (1928). For abbreviations displayed in Hunter 520, I will use the following characters in Edition 1:

ꝛ superscript hook representing -er- and -re-. In the manuscript the hook is really above the previous letter. E.g. man*er*e, p 342/16, p*re*cious, p. 341/7.

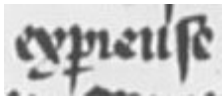


ª superscript a representing -ur-, -ur, or -ra-. In the manuscript it is above the previous letter. Eg. oþ*ur*e, p. 338/7.

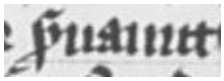
ꝓ p with a loop for pro- (per-, pre- par-) E.g. *pro*phete, p. 339/13, *pro*fitabule, p. 339/8.



ꝑ p with a crossed descender for -per-. Eg. ex*per*iense, p. 356.

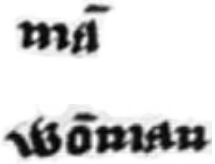


ſ long s with a flourish for ser-. Eg. *ser*uaunt, p. 354/13

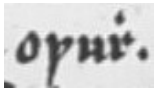
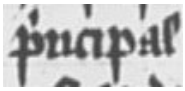
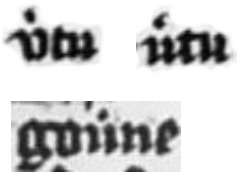
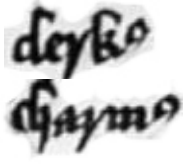


ꝛ Tironian note for *and*, with or without macron. E.g. p. 337/5, 338/6.

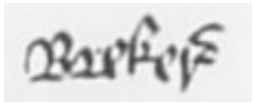
ā ē ī ō ū ȳ macron above vowel is in most cases an abbreviation for either m or n. E.g. ma*n*, p. 337/3, wo*m*man, p. 338/14,



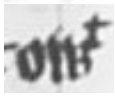
louy*n*g, p. 342/9.

r̄	final-position flourish after r which may indicate a final *e* or simply be an embellishment. E.g. make*r*e, p. 355/8.	
Ihū	*Nomen sacrum*. Jesus. E.g. Ih*es*u, p. 352/22.	
-cōū, -cōu	in final position probably stands for -cioun. A macron sometimes extends over both o and u. E.g. abhomynacioun, p. 341/11.	
ŕ	-re. E.g. oþure, p. 338/9.	
ć	cri-. crist, p. 340/9.	
ṕ	pri-. E.g. principal, p. 355/3.	
ṷ / ú	vir-, ver-, -uer-. E.g. v*er*tu, p. 339/5, u*er*tu, p. 339/4, gou*er*ne, p. 337/5.	
ſ	-is, -es, -us. E.g. þyng*is*, p. 341/2. N.b. the double abbreviation: an overline stands for *n*.	
�uſ	-us. E.g. clerkus, p. 339/7, charmus, p. 339/22.	

s This final s in the running title, Breker^{s}, on pp. 342, 344, 348 probably stands for -es.



e some superscript letters above the letter or in final position form near-abbreviations or abbreviations. E.g. final *e* in þ*e*, p 338/3 and final *t* in ow*t*, p. 354/11, which are not really abbreviations; abbreviation for þ*at*, p. 338/4.



Other characters:

¶ stands for paragraph mark.

· Mid dot

: Punctus elevatus

Ȝ ȝ yogh

Þ þ thorn

I will enclose within slashes those parts of the text which are not part of the main body or common script in the manuscript. These include page numbers, which according to the manuscript description (Glasgow University, n. d.) have been added in the late seventeenth century, rubrics, running titles, and various marks in the margins. Flourished initials have been enclosed within square brackets and emboldened, as this closest resembles the square form of the initials. In this manuscript, the size of the flourished initials marks the hierarchical relationships within the text. A new text normally begins with a three-line decorated initial and a subsection, such as a new commandment, with a two-line initial. However, in two cases there is not enough space at the bottom of the page for the appropriate size of the initial, and it appears one line smaller. Also some commandments lack a decorated initial altogether. If ascenders of letters on the top line or on a line above which there is some empty space have been embellished, I have marked those letters with a capital letter and the line with a footnote. Embellished ascenders on the top line appear from p. 341 onward. There are three kinds of script in the Primer. One for

the main text, a larger one for some of the rubrics, and a third one, lighter and smaller, for the running titles and some rubrics and notes in the margin.

Edition 1 of the Primer

/p. 337/[27]

Here foleweþ þe ·v· bodili wittus.[28]

[H]It[29] is knowen of bileue that ou
re goode god haþ ȝouen to mā
fyue wittes. wiþ whiche aman
scholde goúne ⁊ lede his lijf to saue boþe bo
di ⁊ sowle. And ben þese. Seynge. Herynge

[27] Pagination was added to the manuscript in the late seventeenth century. (University of Glasgow, n. d.) It is on the left upper corner for the left-hand side and right upper corner for the right-hand side of each opening.

[28] The text begins on lowest quarter of page 337 as the space above was left empty for a picture which was never painted. (University of Glasgow, n. d.)

[29] The text begins with a three-line decorated initial H following a slightly decorated majuscule I.

/p. 338/

/· v · bodili/[30]

Smellynge. Tastynge. And Touchynge. Þe
whyche as seyþ synt Gregor ben vndurston
de by fyue besauntes þat crist spekuþ of ī þ^{e}
/· 1 ·/[31] gospel. ¶Þe furste wit. þ^{t} is Sy3tte : ⁊ þ^{t} is
moost sotul in kynde. for hit is as a spye
þat seþ boþe good ⁊ yuel. ⁊ þerfore hit is
iset a boue alle oþ^{a}e. Bote man moste be wel
war þ^{t} hit be wel i kept for hit is more peri
lous þan oþuŕ. Ffor ofte tyme. bodili sy3te :
causuþ blindenusse of soule. þ^{t} he knoweþ
nat his god ⁊ falleþ ī to derkenesse of synne.
as kyng dauid þorou bodili sy3tte ful ī to
avowtrie ⁊ manslau3ter. An crist seiþ he þ^{t}
seþ a wōman ⁊ coueytuþ hir : he haþ doon
lecherie in his herte. And so for defaute of
kepynge of þis wit : a man falluþ to ma
ny oþ^{a}e yueles. Ffor þe gospel seyþ yf þin
y3e be sympule : al þi bodi schal be cleer
⁊ bry3t. And if hit be wyckude : al þi bo
di schal be derk ⁊ blac. þat is to seyn if
þi sy3te be wiþdrawe fro uanytes ⁊ vnlef
ful sy3ttis : þyn oþur werkus schullen

[30] The running title · v · bodili wytt[9] marking the first text of the Primer begins on this left-hand page, continuing at the top of the right-hand page.
[31] The places where sections on different wits start have been marked in the margin with an Arabic numeral, as this text does not supply decorated initials for subsections.

/p. 339/

/wytt⁹/

be good ⁊ vertouus. And If hit be nat so :
þei schullen be synful ⁊ odious to god. ¶Þe /· 2 ·/
secunde wit is herynge. þat aftur syȝte : is
moost sotul. And as þe útu of huyringe
passuþ þe útu of siȝtte. bi sū natural condici
un. for he takuþ his sown on eche syde ⁊ þ^{t}
syȝtte may nat do : so as clerk⁹ seyn, herynge
is moore ꝑfitabule to mennis lernynge. And
synt poul seyþ. þ^{t} bileue ⁊ oþ^{a} útuus þat ꝑ
chours prenten in men : ben onli of huyrin
ge. ¶And herefore echeman scholde be glad
⁊ ioyful. to huyre þe sown of godd⁹ word. þ^{t}
is swete ⁊ delectabule. seyinge wiþ ꝑphete.
I schal huyre what my lord god schal spe
ke in me. Ffor he schal schal[32] speke pes to
his pepule ⁊ sle þe orribule noyse of þe fend
⁊ þe wordul. Bote now þe moore harm is :
þe lust ⁊ þe likynge of men is redi to huyre
þe feend⁹ cry. þat is of bacbytynge sclaun
drynge glosynge. flaterynge. lesyngis. tal⁹
iap⁹. harlotrie petrie. ⁊ alle oþur wreched
nesse of þis worlde. þat ben charm⁹ of þe

[32] The repetition of the word “schal” is a scribal mistake.

p. 340/

/· v · bodily/

fend. Bote wolde god þat þese men wolden
lernen þe prudense of þe naddere þ[t] stoppuþ
hure eeris fro þe noyse of þe charmare. Ffor
þe ton ere sche layeþ to þe erþe. and þat oþ[a]
sche stoppuþ wiþ hiŕ tayl. ⁊ so sche scapuþ
vncharmed. ¶And þis prudence tauȝtte
crist his disciplis. whanne he bad hem be pru
dent as naddrus. and simple as culuerun.
And so echeman þ[t] is trewe ī ćst. whāne he
huyreþ þe soun of þe fend or of þe worlde :
applieþ his oon eere of his sowle to þe erþe.
þat is. he biholduþ his owne freelte. ⁊ hou
wiþ herynge of þe voys of þe oolde nadder
þe fend. oure forme fadur. was lost ⁊ discey
ued. And þ[t] oþur ere he stoppuþ wiþ his
tayl. þat is. he þenkuþ bisili on þe eende
/?/[33] of his lijf. hou dredful hit is. and how
vncertayn of tyne. And þus he fleeþ þe
vend[9] voys. Hauynge in moynde algate
þe word of God þat seiþ. He þat hereþ
/iii/[34] me ne schal neuer be schent. ¶The þridde
/3/ is smellynge of mann[9] nose. ⁊ hit is ofte

/miskept/[35]

[33] The round mark in the margin resembles a V or an O.
[34] Both Roman and Arabic numerals are supplied to mark the third wit.
[35] This catchword with a decorative pen-flourished scroll at the bottom of the last page of the quire helped to bind the quires in correct order when it was matched with the first word on the following quire (Clemens and Graham, 2007, p. 49).

/p. 341/

/wytt9/

misKepte as WHan a man Haþ to mocHe[36]
luste in Swete Smillyngis of erþely þȳgƒ
þat stiren him to lecherie ⁊ glotonye for
glotoūs deliten hem alle in swete and
sauoury metis and drynkes : And leche
rouse wasten costely ī fumygacioūs ma
ny spicis ⁊ pᶜcious oynementis to make
her cloþes of swete sauour : with þe whi
che moche pepyl myȝte be susteyned : And
certes alle þeese bi many waies schewen
abhomynacōū bifore god for stynke of
synne : Ffor þe cause whi þei doon þees
þynges may not be good. ¶And þerfore it
is seide þat good aungels fleen þe placis þat
suche Sȳneres dwellyn Inne : And þis sch
ulde stirre cristē men to flee stynkyng vi
cis ⁊ ȝyue hem to swetnesse of vᶜtues þᵗ
been sweet smellyng to god ¶The ferþe /· 4 ·/[37]
witte þᵗ mā haþ is Taastyng þᵗ stondiþ
in toūge ⁊ þe palet of þi mouþe · Þat
witte is mys vsid of suche men þᵗ to gredi
ly or to lykyngly taken mete or drynke :

[36] The ascenders of the capitalized letters on the top line are embellished and higher than usual.
[37] The Arabic numeral 4 in its medieval form.

/p. 342/

/breker^{S}/

ffor WHicHe þe Dewe seruyse of god is LettiD[38]
and in þe takyng doon not reuerentely
þonkyngis to him as þei schuldē doo : ffor
Seint Poule seiþ · þat wheþer we etteor
drynke sleep or waake or what euer we doo
alle schulde be doon to þe honour ⁊ worsch
ipe of oure lorde god. And þerfore taast þou
þoo þyngis þat ben þine owen bi þe soffraū
ce of god wiþ dreed ⁊ louȳg of god : and voide
fro þi taastyng þoo þingis þat bē not þine
/· 5 ·/[39] The fyueþ witte of A man is touchyng
and þis is mys keppte whā þ^{u} touchest
wiþ þyn hondis or wiþ ony oþir party of
þi bodi : þat þyng þ^{t} stireþ þee to ony
man^{ſ}e of synne bi þi touchyng : And þer
fore leue alle man^{ſ}e of vnleueful touchyng[40]
And touche þou what leueful crafte þ^{t} þou
canste for to gete þer wiþ þi sustinaūce
wiþ treuthe · /The ten Comaūdemētis/
[T]He[41] first Cōmaūdement of god is
þis: Þou schalt worschip no fals
goddis. And þis breken proude

[38] Some ascenders in words on the top line have tall, embellished curves and hooks. Above the double-t in ‘lettid’ is a heavy horizontal stroke.
[39] The Arabic numeral 5 in its medieval form.
[40] The loop at the end of this word is obscure and may stand either for plural ƒ or a decorative flourish possibly meaning final e.
[41] Three-line decorated initial T preceding embellished H.

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/of þe ten hestʃ/

men · WorldeLy men · ⁊ FleiscHeLy mē · ProuDe[42]
men : for þei maken þe deuel her god : As
Iob seiþ þe oon ⁊ fourtieþ chapitir ¶ Þe de
uel is kyng vppon alle þe Sones of ṕde.
Worldly men · for þei maken worldly goo
dis her god · As Poule seiþ to þe Ephesies
þe fyueþ chapiter · And[43] Auarouse man is
aseruaūt of mawmetrye ⁊ schal not heri
tage þe kyngdam of god. ¶ Ffleischely men :
for þei maken her belies her god · As Poule
seiþ to Philypensis þe þrid chapitir : Be
ȝee my foloweres ⁊ awayte ȝe hē þat walkē
so : ffor þere ben many þat walken þ[t] ben
enemyes to criste Crosse whoos eende is deeþ
and her wombes is her god : /Þe scecūde hest/
[T]He[44] secunde cōmaūdement is : Þou
schalt not take goddis name ī veyne :
And þis breken veyn spekeres · customably
⁊ greet swereres ⁊ wicked worcheres · Veyn
Spekeres · for her wordis ben not medeful :
And crist seiþ ī þe gospel of Mathew þe
twelfþe chapiter : of eu^{ς}y ydel word þ[t] mē

[42] Embellished ascenders on top line.
[43] Here should probably be an indefinite article “An” instead of “And”.
[44] Two-line decorated initial T following embellished H.

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/Breker^{S}/

speKen þei scHulen reKen at þe Doome: Gret[45]
swereris · for her oþes ben not nedeful as
þe wise man seiþ Ecclesiastic⁹ þe þreeand
twentyeþ chapitir · A man moche swerynȝ
schal be fulfillid wiþ wickednesse : ⁊ venge
aūce schal not goo fro his house ¶Wicked
worcheris · for her workes ben vnleueful · as
Poule seiþ to þe Romaynes þe fiþtenþe[46]
chapiter · Awaite ȝehem þat letten þe lawe
of god · and dele ȝe not wiþ hem · for bi softe
speche þei desceyuen þe hertis of Innocent
/iij/ men : The þridde is: Haue mynde to halowe
þine holiday : And þis breken men þat
þenken not on god hertiliche ne preyen
to hī not deuouteliche ne doon not þe Wor
kes of mercy ¶Men þat þenken not on god
hertly : for þei occupien her þouȝtis ī vany
tees : as seiþ miche þe Prophete ī þe secunde
chapiter Woo to ȝou þat þenken vnprofi
tabil þouȝttis · worchyng yuel ī ȝoª couches
ī þe morwe liȝt Men þat preyen hī not
deuoutelyche · for þey worschipen hī wiþ her

[45] Embellished ascenders on top line.
[46] This is probably a scribal error and should read fiftenþe.

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/Of þe X hestƒ/

Lippis ⁊ not Wiþ Her Hertis : As seiþ MatHeW[47]
þe fiftenþe chapiter: Þis pepul wiþ lippes wor
schepen me : ffor soþe her hertis is fer fro
me ¶Men þat doon not þe workes of mercy ·
for þei leuen vertues ⁊ ȝiuen hem to vicis
And Seint Ioon seiþ þe þridde chapitir : liȝt
cam ī to þeworlde · and men loued more derk
nesse þan liȝtte for her workes werē yuel : Þe
/iiij/ fourþe heest is : Þou schalt worschip þi fadir /hest/
and þi modir : And þis breken vnkynde mē
frowarde men and rebel men · Vnkynde mē
for þei helpen not her eldres as þei schuldē :
As seiþ Ecclesiastic⁹ þe þridde chapitir he
þat worschipiþ fadir and modir : schal be
gladid in son⁹ : And he is cursid of god þat
terreþ hem to wraþþe ¶Froward men : for
þei wole take no goostly techyng · as seiþ Ysa
ye þe þrittieþ chapiter Sones of frowardn⁹
not willyng to here þe lawe of God þ^{t} seien ·
speke to vs plesaūte þingis þouȝ þei ben
errour · Rebel men for þei ben vnbuxum
to crist ⁊ to his Chirche · as seiþ Numerus þe

[47] Embellished ascenders on top line.

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/Brekeres/

Sixtenþe cHapiter of Datan AnD ABiron for[48]
vnbuxsūnes to Moyses ⁊ Aaron sonken
doun to helle alle qwyke wijf ⁊ alle þat
longed to hem · /· v ·/

[T]He[49] Ffyueþ Heest is : þou scHalt sLee[50]
no man · And þis breken enviouse mē
wraþful men And Auarouse men¶Envi
ouse men for þei haten or backebiten her
breþeren : as Ióohnª seiþ ī þe þridde capitle
Eche man þat hatiþ his broþir is aman
Sleer : And he þat seiþ he loueþ his god ⁊
hatiþ his broþir : is alyer ¶Wraþful mē
for þei Smyten or dispisen her breþeren
Seint Austyn seiþ · Awraþful man isha
teful to god : And he is made felawe of ffeen
dis ¶Auarouse men · for þei releuē not in
nede her euen ćsten · As seiþ Ecclesiasticus
þe eiȝtenþe Chapiter : Haue mynde on pouˢ
te ī tyme of plente : And þe nede of pouerte
in þe Day of richessis · fro eerly vnto euen
þe tyme schal chaunge.

/vj/ **[T]**he[51] sixte is : þou schalt doo no lecherye

[48] Embellished ascenders on top line.
[49] Two-line decorated initial T followed by embellished h.
[50] Ornamental ascenders rise into the empty end-of-line above.
[51] One-line decorated initial T. The last line did not supply enough space for a two-line initial.

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/of þe · X · hestis/

AnD þis BreKen ffornicatores · AuoWtreres[52]
ȝ holowres ¶Ffornicatouris · for þei defou
len her bodies in lecherie · as seiþ Toby
þe þridde chapiter · þe Deuel Asmodeus
slouȝ seuen men for oon wōmā · for þei
token hir not aftir þe fourme of wedloke :
Auowtreres for þei breken þe holy sacᵃment
of wedloke · as seiþ Sapience þe þridde cha
pitir þei of Auowtrye her seed schal be
outlawed · and ȝif þei ben of long lijf : at
nouȝt þei schulen be acoūtid and in her
laste eende schulen faile speche ¶Hollow
res : for þei wasten her bodies vnkyndely · as
Poule seiþ to þe Ephesies þe fyueþ chapi
ter · þis þing wyte ȝee welle, þat hollow
res han noon heritage in þe kyngdom of
[T]He[53] Seuenþe heest is : Þou ¶ god · /vij/
schalt doo no þefte : And þis breken
Micheres · Robberes, ȝ extorciouneres · Michers
for þei stolen pryuely · as seiþ Osee þe fourþe
chapiter : Treuþe is not ī erþe · but cursid
nesse ȝ þefte · for þis þyng schal morne

[52] Very tall, embellished ascenders on top line.
[53] Two-line decorated initial T followed by embellished H.

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/Breker^{S}/

Alle þat Dwellen þer Inne Robberes : For þei[54]
robben openly · as seiþ Ysaie þe ꝑphete þe
þre ⁊ þrittieþ chapitir · Woo to þee þ^{t} robbest
Wheþir þi silf schalt not be robbed · whan
þi silf hast robbed þan schalt þou be robbed
¶Extorciouneres, for þei spoilen men of her
goodis falsly · as seiþ Sapience þe secoūde
chapitir ¶The vnpiteuose mā seiþ bigile
we þe riȝtwise mā · for he is vnꝑfitableto
vs · ⁊ cōtrarye to oure werkis. bi moost foule
deeþ condempne we him : And preue we so
þe pacience of him · /The eiȝte hest/
[T]He[55] eiȝte heest is : Þou schalt bere
noon fals witten[9] Aȝens þi neiȝbores
And þis breken lyeres ⁊ false questemonge
res ⁊ gloseres : lieres · for þei haten treuþe as
seiþ Ecclesiasticus þe · XX · chapitir · Betir is
A þeef · þen þe bisynes of Alier · for boþe schu
len heritage dampnacioū : Gloseres for þei
hiden treuþe as seiþ Ysaie þe þre ⁊ þrittieþ
chapitir ¶Þis pepil is of hiȝe sermoū · so þ^{t}
þei mowen not vndirstonde þe sleiȝnesse of

[54] Embellished ascenders on top line, initial R in Robberes especially tall.
[55] Two-line decorated initial T followed by embellished H.

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/of þe ·X· hestƒ/

Her tounge in WHich is no WyseDam ¶FFals[56]
questmongeres for þei sellen trouþe as seiþ
þe ꝓphete Isaye þe nynþe /ד fyfty\[57] chapiter · We haue
spoken of hertewordis of lesyng, ד tᵘned is
backward dome · for treuþe is fallen ī þe street,
and equite may not goon Inne · And he þat
forsakeþ synne · Abil to be dispised : /þe ix heest/
[T]He[58] Nynþe heest is þou schalt not
coueite þine neiȝbores house : And þe
tenþe is þou schalt not coueite þy neiȝbores
wijf ne his childe no noon of his seruaūtes,
ne no þyng þat is his ¶And þees breken mē
þat wrongfully coueyten ī herte alle if þei
doon it not in dede · As seiþ Ecclesiasticusþe
fyueþ chapiter · wille þou not coueyte wicked
ly possessioūs, ne folowe þou ī þi strengþe þe
coueytyng of þin herte ¶Men þat wronge
fully coueiten in her herte ד to her power doon /þey/[59]
it in deede · as seiþ Mathew ī þe fiueþ chapitir
Euery man þat seeþ awōman to coueitehir
haþ doon lecherie wiþ hir in his herte ¶Men þᵗ
han luste ד lykyng · ī suche wrongful couey

[56] Embellished ascenders on top line, initial w's especially tall and curvy.
[57] Addition between the lines above the previous word the proper place of which is marked with a caret [ˆ] on the line.
[58] Two-line decorated initial T followed by embellished H.
[59] An addition.

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tyng, as seiþ Sapience þe fourþe cHapiter :[60]
Vnstabiln[9] of coueytise ou^{ſ}turneþ wiþ outē
Malice : As seint Ioon seiþ þe secoūde chapit'
þees þingis ben of world : coueitise of iȝen
luste of fleische · And pride of lijf And þes
þre synnes enwlappeþ al oþ^{ſ} þ^{t} ony mā doiþ.
/The seuen workis of mercy[61]/ /bodily[62]/
[T]Hees[63] ben þe seuen werkes of bodily
m^{ſ}cy þ^{t} mē schulden do to ćste ī his
membris ¶The firste is þis · ffeede
ȝe þoo þat ben hoūgry · ȝyue ȝe drynke to þoo
þat ben þristi · herberow ȝe gestis ī ȝoure
housis · cloþe ȝe hem þat ben naked · visite
ȝe hē þ^{t} bē sike · goo ȝe to mē þat ben ī ṕsoū
⁊ visite ȝe hem ¶Þees sixe rehersiþ criste ī
þe gospel · And þe Seuēþe is ī þe book of Tobie
þat is to berye dede men þat han nede: Alle
þees Seuen werkis of m^{ſ}cy doon mē to crist
whan þei doon hem to his mēbris deuoutely
ī his name · but here men moten haue bisie
discrecioun towhom þeidoon þees Almes · leste
þei reu^{ſ}sen criste ⁊ so mē schuldē doo Almus

[60] Only h in chapiter embellished with a hook.
[61] The rubric is written in a different and larger script.
[62] The addition 'bodili' is written in a smaller secretary hand.
[63] Three-line decorated initial T followed by embellished H.

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oonLy to sucHe as þei suppoSenBiliKe signes[64]
kepen þe lawe of god · And her fore crist axeþ
too þingis of þine almꝰ · þat þou doo it in
his name ⁊ eeke discretely : ffor many men
may as ypoćtes axe in cristis name : And
ī lyuyng orworchyng doo þe cōtᵃrie to his
lawe · And her fore crist telliþ opynly in þe
gospel of Seint luke to whō men schuldē doo
þees dedis of mᶜcy · þᵗ is to men ⁊ wȳmē þᵗ
ben pore febyl · pore blynde ⁊ pore lame ·
But oþir sterke beggeres doon greet wrong
to suche pore folke : But loke Algate þᵗ þi
good þat þou ȝyuest þine Almes of betreuly
⁊ justly geten : And þāne þou schalt haue
mede of god ī heuen : /Þe vii workis merci gostly[65]/
[T]He[66] seuen dedis of goostly mercy ·
þat ben betyr þan þe furste : stōden
in þees seuen wordis : Teche Cō
forte · Consaile · Chastise / Fforȝyue · Soffiī
And preye ¶Aman techiþ anoþir bi þe lawe
of charite : whan he telliþ him for loue […][67]
biddyng of god ¶Aman conseileþ An oþir

[64] Some top line ascenders embellished with hooks and decorative horizontal strokes.
[65] This is written in a smaller, lighter, scribbly hand.
[66] Three-line decorated initial T followed by H.
[67] The manuscript is soiled here and obscures what seems to be a two-letter word. In Princeton Garrett 143, the word is ‘þe’.

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As He scHuLde Doo · WHan He moueþ Him aWey[68]
þat lediþ surely to heuen ¶Aman chastisiþ
Anoþir biworde or bidede or ellis bi wiþ dra
wyng of bodily helpe · whan he helpiþ · þat
he leeue synne þat he was Inne · Aman cōfor
tiþ Anoþir · whan he solasseþ his soule to dra
we in goddis ȝocke · for hope of greet mede :
Aman forȝyueþ Anoþir his trespace þat he
dide to him : whan he Askeþ not vengeaūce
bi resoū of þis trespasse : But helpiþ hī to god
warde and to turne to good lijf // A man soffriþ
Anoþir whan he takeþ mekely ד paciently
of him repreef myssawe · or ony persecucyoū
for goddis sake ¶A man schal preie bi goddis
lawe for helpyng boþe of his freendis and of
his enemyes · willyng ד desiryng of hē þe blisse
of heuen · And as mānes soule passiþ þe body
so þees seuen goostly werkes · passen þe seuen
bodily · And her fore euery cristen man is holdē
to þees Seuen /· v · þyngis we scholde knowe to/
[H]It[69] bihoueþ specially to eu^{ç}y man þ^{t} /loue […]/[70]
desireþ to loue oure lorde Ihū crist /crist by/

[68] Top line ascenders embellished with curves, hooks and horizontal strokes.
[69] Two-line decorated initial H followed by embellished I. At the bottom of the page there was not enough space for a three-line decorated initial to mark the upper hierarchy of a new text.
[70] The barely visible scribble deep in the margin probably stands for Ihū

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inWardLy in Herte fyue þingis · On for to[71]
knowe first what him silf is ¶The secūde
what was his bigynnyng ¶Þe þridde who
was his maker ¶The fourþe for what een
de he fourmed him ¶ Þe fifthe how he schal
ordayne him silf to þe eende þat he was or
dayned fore ¶ As to þe firste be it if þ^{u} knowe
þi silf þou Art no better þan a rude beest as
þe spouse seiþ in þeboke of songis : But if
þou knowe þi silf faire Among wȳmen :
wende out after þe flok of þi felaschip ד fede
þe gete ¶ Þis is þus to mene : But if man
knowe þe worþinesse of þi kynde · þe whiche
passiþ al oþer bewte of þis worlde ד most
able is to loue his maker ד to be louyd of hī
ellis þou Art but as A beeste · ד as Abeest þou
schalt lyue wiþ oute sauo^{a} of swetnesse and
fede þt fleisch wiþ foule stynkyng lustis þe
whiche ben lykned to gete · And at þe day of
dome schalt þou be set on þe lefte half of oure
lord ihū wiþ þe flok of þe dampnyd felaschip.
¶Þan it is nedeful to knowe þisilf ——[72]

[71] Top line ascenders embellished in the first and third words.
[72] This is the only place in the Primer with a wave-like line-filler.

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/WHat is þe Kynde of mā ī BoDi ד ī SouLe/[73]
[T]Hou[74] schalt vndirstonde þat mā
is of two kyndis · On bodili a
noþir goostly. On erþely · anoþ^{ſ}
heuenly. On bestial · anoþer Spūal[75] : Þe
bodily kynde is first in ordre of tyme · as
raþir formed ¶The goostly kynde is first
in ordre of worthinesse : The bodili kynde
is þe fleische. ¶The goostly kynde is callid
þe soule þe whiche soule is þe substancial
difference bitwene man ד beest · And it ow^{t}
to haue þe fleische in gou^{ſ}nayle as þe lord
þe ſuaunt ¶The soule in it silf is of
twoo kyndis · On þe whiche haþ his bigȳ
nyng of þe fleische ד hediþ to kepyng of
þe fleischely kynde bi þe bodily wittis · þat
is callid Sensualite ¶The secūde þ^{t} noȝt
he dith of bodily þyngis · but oonly of gost
ly for to deme bitwene gode ד yuel. Bitwē
treuthe ד falshede · bitwene harm ד ꝑfiȝt
Þis part is callid þe Spirit ꝑperly · ד þat
oþir þe Soule : And ȝit ben þei verely on

[73] Top line written in a larger script and ascenders embellished.
[74] Three-line decorated initial T followed by embellished H.
[75] A contracted form of ‘spiritual’, derived from ‘Spū’, the *Nomen Sacrum* for Sp*irit*u.

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þyng AnD noȝt tWo. ¶ Þe Spirit oF man[76]
þat is onyd to þe soule in his ferst for
myng haþ in him silf þre ṕncipal miȝt
tis ¶Mynde · wille · and vndirstandyng
þe whiche þre ben verili oon soule or on
Spirit formed to þe ymage ד to þe lik nesse
of þe trynite ¶ffor oonly þe spirit of man
ד of noon oþir beest may mynde his makeī
loue him bi good wille ד knowe him bi
vndirstondyng ¶And þat þing þat he
myndiþ louyþ ד knowiþ vˢreily he haþ ·
As þe sˢuaunt haþ þe lord · As þe chylde
þe fader · As þe wijf her spouse · And as
þe disciple þe maister : And so þe Spirit
owiþ to him as to his lord ſuice · As to his
fadir worschip · As to his Spouse hertly loue
As to his maister he owiþ to him drede :
The neþˢ part of þe Soule þat comeþ of
þe fleische haþ þe fyue bodily wittis · for
to deme bi twene colowris · schappis and
quayntise · bi þe siȝt of yȝe. Bi twene di
uerse sownys lusti or lothsū · By heryng

[76] Top line ascenders embellished.

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Bi twene Hote ד coLde · Wete anD drey · Liȝt[77]
and heuy · soft · and hard · bi felyng Bi
twene soure and swete bitaastyng Bitwe
ne Sote and vnsauˢy bi smellyng And
alle þese exƿiense he schewiþ to þe spirit
wher bi þe spirit schal þe more clerly
knowe his makere ¶Þus seiþ Poule þe
Inuisible godhede ד his endles myȝt may
be knowe of worldly creatures ד vndir
stande bi þis visible ד bodily þingis
þat he maad and formed able to be parseyued
bi oure bodily wittis ¶And so schal þe spi
rit be meuyd for to loue his makere and
rauysche þee sensualite fro loue of fleisch
lynesse ד lust of bodily þinges into fer
uent affeccioū to him þat alle made :
And þer Agayn ȝif it so is þat þe sensu
alite amaistre þe spirit drawyng it doū
ward in to loue of þese formed creatures
for to fastne his affeccōn in Any of hem
alle · þan doiþ he contᵃry to his kynde ד vn
abliþ him self · to his owen heritage ·

[77] Top line ascenders embellished with hooks, curves, and horizontal lines.

8 Edition 2

This version of the Primer is meant to be more easily accessible for an audience interested in the semantic or historical content of the text, and with less knowledge of Middle English conventions of abbreviation and word division. In the editorial choices, I mostly conform to the guidelines of the Early English Text Society (n. d.); I have supplied modern punctuation, capitalization and word-division, and expanded abbreviations to clarify grammatical structure of the sentences and make the text generally more readable, as late Middle English theological argumentation, such as expressed in the last text, is sometimes quite difficult to follow. Supplying modern punctuation and expanding abbreviations are acts of interpretation: I have tried to make an educated guess, and for the abbreviations stay in line with either the more standard way of expansion, or in cases of doubt align with the scribe's most frequent usage. Unlike EETS guidelines, I have italicized expanded abbreviations to allow more transparency. The distinctions between *u* and *v*, between *þ* and *th,* and between *i* and *j* have been preserved. Initial double f has been reduced to single f. The text has been emended only when it is manifestly in error or where there are good grounds for supposing there to be an error, and the original error is enclosed in square brackets, for example [*ms* scecunde]. I have numbered the lines in fives according to EETS guidelines and for glossary reference.

To mark the textual hierarchy clearly, I have reserved a separate line for rubrics, and have also arranged paragraphs in a more modern and consistent manner. In the manuscript, paragraph marks are used quite erratically: sometimes for what today would be understood as the beginning of a new sentence, or at times to mark the beginning of a new thought, for example introducing a new commandment, but not necessarily. Decorated initials are not used entirely consistently: most commandments are introduced with a decorated initial while some are not, for example, the third, the fourth, and the tenth. These are not even marked with a paragraph mark. For the five senses a decorated initial begins the prologue, then a paragraph mark introduces each new sense, except for the fifth. Sometimes a paragraph mark is used within the discussion of a certain sense, at other times not. In the edition each sense is dealt with in a single paragraph.

Manuscript lineation is not retained, but the page number in the manuscript is marked in bold and enclosed within slashes, for example: /**338**/, in order for the reader to easily spot where the page changes if she wants to compare with the manuscript facsimile. For theologians I have supplied in the footnotes the sources of the Bible quotations found in the text, having located them with the help of keywords through the online Douay (1609)-Rheims (1582) Bible. This was the first English Bible translation authorized by the Catholic Church (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2003). Smith states: "[I]t is considered to be the version which presents the closest translation of the Vulgate Latin used by […] medieval commentators" (2014, p. xiii). I have placed quotation marks around the quotations to mark more clearly, which section of the text refers to the Bible. However, it is uncertain whether the Bible quotations are paraphrases from Bible verses well-known in Latin, or whether they may partly have some vernacular origin, such as the Wycliffite Bible.

I have written a glossary along the guidelines and standard practice of Early English Text Society (n. d.). To keep it within relative brevity, it aims at graduate readership familiar with some well-known Middle English authors such as Chaucer. I have included obsolete words and words that are not easily recognizable in modern English. Conforming to the EETS, I have not supplied as headwords forms that do not occur in the text (such as infinitives of verbs), because it may be impossible to trace them correctly. There are certain special cases in the alphabetical organization: if *y* represents a vowel variant of *i*, it is placed accordingly. If *u* and *v* are used as a vowel, they are placed under "u"; if consonantally, they are placed under "v". Similarly, ȝ is listed either under "g" or "y". Etymologies are not included. The numbers at the end of an entry refer to the following: first are the page and line numbers in the manuscript, for example, 340/19, then in brackets the line number(s) in Edition 2. I have recorded every occurrence of the headword. I have used EETS standard abbreviations for grammatical categories, although some are slightly uncommon (e.g. *pa.p.* = past participle). The purpose of the glossary is to help the reader with the hard words and to record orthographical forms which will be of interest to historical linguists and lexicographers.

Edition 2 of the Primer

/337/ Here foleweþ þe v bodili wittus.

Hit is knowen of bileue that oure goode God haþ ȝouen to ma*n* fyue wittes wiþ whiche a man scholde gou*er*ne *and* lede his lijf to saue boþe bodi *and* sowle. And ben þese: seynge, herynge, **/338/** smellynge, tastynge, and touchynge; þe whyche, as seyþ Synt Gregor, ben vndurstonde by fyue besauntes þat Crist spekuþ of i*n* þ*e* gospel.[78]

Þe furste wit, þ*at* is syȝtte; *and* þ*at* is moost sotul in kynde, for hit is as a spye þat seþ boþe good *and* yuel; *and* þerfore hit is iset aboue alle oþ*ur*e. Bote man moste be wel war þ*at* hit be wel ikept, for hit is more p*er*ilous þan oþur*e*. For ofte tyme bodili syȝte causuþ blindenusse of soule þ*at* he knoweþ nat his God *and* falleþ i*n*to derkenesse of synne, as Kyng Dauid þorou bodili syȝtte ful i*n*to avowtrie *and* ma*n*slauȝter.[79] An Crist seiþ: "He þ*at* seþ a wo*m*man *and* coueytuþ hir, he haþ doon lecherie in his herte."[80] And so for defaute of kepynge of þis wit, a man falluþ to many oþ*ur*e yueles, for þe gospel seyþ: "Yf þin yȝe be sympule, al þi bodi schal be cleer *and* bryȝt. And if hit be wyckude, al þi bodi schal be derk *and* blac."[81] Þat is to seyn, if þi syȝte be wiþdrawe fro uanytes *and* vnlefful syȝttis, þyn oþur werkus schullen **/339/** be good *and* vertouus. And if hit be nat so, þei schullen be synful *and* odious to God.

Þe secunde wit is herynge, þat aftur syȝte is moost sotul. And as þe u*er*tu of huyringe passuþ þe v*er*tu of siȝtte bi su*m* natural condiciun, for he takuþ his sown on eche syde, *and* þ*at* syȝtte may nat do. So, as clerk*us* seyn, herynge is moore p*ro*fitabule to mennis lernynge. And Synt Poul seyþ þ*at* bileue *and* oþ*ur* v*er*tuus þat p*re*chours prenten in men ben onli of huyringe.[82] And herefore eche man scholde be glad *and* ioyful to huyre þe sown of Godd*us* word þ*at* is swete *and* delectabule, seyinge wiþ [þe][83] p*ro*phete: "I schal huyre what my Lord God schal speke in me, for

[78] [five talents] Matt. 25: 14–30
[79] 2 Sam. 11
[80] Matt. 5: 28
[81] Matt. 6: 22–23
[82] Rom. 10: 17
[83] Article missing.

he schal[84] speke þes to his pepule"[85] *and* sle þe orribule noyse of þe fend *and* þe wordul. Bote now þe moore harm is þe lust *and* þe likynge of men is redi to huyre þe feend*us* cry, þat is of bacbytynge, sclaundrynge, glosynge, flaterynge, lesyngis, tal*us*, iap*us*, harlotrie, petrie, *and* alle oþur wrechednesse of þis worlde þat ben charm*us* of
30 þe **/340/** fend. Bote wolde God þat þese men wolden lernen þe prudense of þe naddere þ*at* stoppuþ hure eeris fro þe noyse of þe charmare,[86] for þe ton ere sche layeþ to þe erþe and þat oþ*ur* sche stoppuþ wiþ hir*e* tayl, *and* so sche scapuþ vncharmed. And þis prudence tauȝtte Crist his disciplis whanne he bad hem: "Be prudent as naddrus and simple as culuerun."[87] And so eche man þ*at* is trewe i*n* C*ri*st,
35 wha*n*ne he huyreþ þe soun of þe fend or of þe worlde, applieþ his oon eere of his sowle to þe erþe, þat is, he biholduþ his owne freelte; *and* hou, wiþ herynge of þe voys of þe oolde nadder þe fend, oure forme fadur was lost *and* disceyued. And þ*at* oþur ere he stoppuþ wiþ his tayl, þat is, he þenkuþ bisili on þe eende of his lijf, hou dredful hit is and how vncertayn of tyne. And þus he fleeþ þe vend*us* voys, hauynge
40 in moynde algate þe word of God þat seiþ: "He þat hereþ me ne schal neuer be schent."[88]

The þridde is smellynge of mann*us* nose, *and* hit is ofte **/341/** miskepte; as whan a man haþ to moche luste in swete smillyngis of erþely þy*ng*i*s* þat stiren him to lecherie *and* glotonye, for glotou*n*s deliten hem alle in swete and sauoury metis and
45 drynkes, and lecherouse wasten costely i*n* fumygaciou*n*s, many spicis, *and* p*re*cious oynementis to make her cloþes of swete sauour, with þe whiche moche pepyl myȝte be susteyned. And certes, alle þeese bi many waies schewen abhomynac*i*ou*n* bifore God for stynke of synne. For þe cause whi þei doon þees þynges may not be good. And þ*er*fore it is seide þ*at* good aungels fleen þe placis þ*at* suche sy*n*neres dwellyn
50 inne. And þis schulde stirre cristen men to flee stynkyng vicis *and* ȝyue hem to swetnesse of v*er*tues þ*at* been sweet smellyng to God.

The ferþe witte þ*at* ma*n* haþ is taastyng þ*at* stondiþ in tou*n*ge *and* þe palet of þi mouþe. Þat witte is mysvsid of suche men þ*at* to gredily or to lykyngly taken mete or drynke, **/342/** for whiche þe dewe seruyse of God is lettid, and in þe takyng doon

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[84] The world *schal* is erroneously repeated.
[85] Ps. 84: 9
[86] Ps. 57: 5–6
[87] Matt. 10: 16
[88] John 5: 24

not reuerentely þonkyngis to him as þei schulde*n* doo, for Seint Poule seiþ þat wheþer we ette, drynke, sleep, or waake, or whateuer we doo, alle schulde be doon to þe honour *and* worschipe of oure Lorde God.[89] And þerfore taast þou þoo þyngis þat ben þine owen bi þe soffrau*n*ce of God, wiþ dreed *and* louy*n*g of God, and voide fro þi taastyng þoo þingis þat be*n* not þine.

Þe fyueþ witte of a man is touchyng, and þis is myskeppte wha*n* þ*ou* touchest wiþ þyn hondis or wiþ ony oþir party of þi bodi þat þyng þ*at* stireþ þee to ony man*er*e of synne bi þi touchyng. And þerfore leue alle man*er*e of vnleueful touchyng and touche þou what leueful crafte þ*at* þou canste for to gete þerwiþ þi sustinau*n*ce w[iþ][90] treuthe.

The Ten Comau*n*deme*n*tis

The first co*m*mau*n*dement of God is þis: Þou schalt worschip no fals goddis. And þis breken proude **/343/** men, worldely men, *and* fleischely me*n*. Proude men, for þei maken þe deuel her god, as Iob seiþ þe oon *and* fourtieþ chapitir: "Þe deuel is kyng vppon alle þe sones of p*ri*de."[91] Worldly men, for þei maken worldly goodis her god, as Poule seiþ to þe Ephesies þe fyueþ chapiter: "An [*ms* And] auarouse man is a seruau*n*t of mawmetrye *and* schal not heritage þe kyngdam of God."[92] Fleischely men, for þei maken her belies her god, as Poule seiþ to Philypensis þe þrid chapitir: "Bee ȝee my foloweres *and* awayte ȝe he*m* þat walke*n* so, for þere ben many þat walken þ*at* ben enemyes to Criste crosse whoos eende is deeþ and her wombes is her god."[93]

Þe secu*n*de [*ms* scecunde] hest.[94] The secunde co*m*mau*n*dement is: Þou schalt not take Goddis name i*n* veyne. And þis breken veyn spekeres customably *and* greet swereres *and* wicked worcheres. Veyn spekeres, for her wordis ben not medeful. And Crist seiþ i*n* þe gospel of Mathew þe twelfþe chapiter: "Of eu*er*y ydel word þ*at* me*n* **/344/** speken þei schulen reken at þe doome."[95] Gret swereris for her oþes ben not

[89] 1 Cor. 10: 31
[90] The manuscript is soiled and obscure, probably reads "with".
[91] Job 41: 25
[92] Eph. 5: 5
[93] Phil. 3: 17–19
[94] Rubric inserted in the empty space by a possibly later hand.
[95] Matt. 12: 36

nedeful as þe Wise Man seiþ, Ecclesiastic*us* þe þree and twentyeþ chapitir: "A man moche sweryng[*is*][96] schal be fulfillid wiþ wickednesse *and* vengeau*n*ce schal not goo fro his house."[97] Wicked worcheris for her workes ben vnleueful as Poule seiþ to þe Romaynes þe fiftenþe [*ms* fiþtenþe] chapiter: "Awaite ȝe hem þat letten þe lawe of God and dele ȝe not wiþ hem, for bi softe speche þei desceyuen þe hertis of innocent men." [98]

The þridde is: Haue mynde to halowe þine holiday. And þis breken men þat þenken not on God hertiliche ne preyen to hi*m* not deuouteliche ne doon not þe workes of mercy. Men þat þenken not on God hertly, for þei occupien her þouȝtis i*n* vanytees, as seiþ Miche þe prophete i*n* þe secunde chapiter: "Woo to ȝou þat þenken vnprofitabil þouȝttis, worchyng yuel i*n* ȝo*ur* couches i*n* þe morwe liȝt."[99] Men þat preyen hi*m* not deuoutelyche, for þey worschipen hi*m* wiþ her **/345/** lippis *and* not wiþ her hertis, as seiþ Mathew þe fiftenþe chapiter: "Þis pepul wiþ lippes worschepen me, forsoþe her hertis is fer fro me."[100] Men þat doon not þe workes of mercy, for þei leuen vertues *and* ȝiuen hem to vicis. And Seint Ioon seiþ þe þridde chapitir: "Liȝt cam i*n*to þe worlde, and men loued more derknesse þan liȝtte, for her workes were*n* yuel."[101]

Þe fourþe heest is: "Þou schalt worschip þi fadir and þi modir." And þis breken vnkynde me*n*, frowarde men, and rebel men. Vnkynde me*n*, for þei helpen not her eldres as þei schulde*n*, as seiþ Ecclesiastic*us* þe þridde chapitir: "He þat worschipiþ fadir and modir schal be gladid in son*us*."[102] And he is cursid of God þat terreþ hem to wraþþe. Froward men, for þei wole take no goostly techyng, as seiþ Ysaye þe þrittieþ chapiter: "Sones of frowardn*us*, not willyng to here þe lawe of God þ*at* seien, speke to vs plesau*n*te þingis þouȝ þei ben errour."[103] Rebel men, for þei ben vnbuxum to Crist *and* to his chirche, as seiþ Numerus þe **/346/** sixtenþe chapiter

[96] The abbreviation for the plural form is only partially visible.
[97] Ecclus. 23: 12
[98] This quote is from the 16th, not the 15th chapter of Romans. Rom. 16: 17–18.
[99] Mic. 2: 1
[100] Matt.15: 8
[101] John 3: 19
[102] Ecclus. 3: 6
[103] Isa. 30: 9–10

of Datan and Abiron, for vnbuxsu*m*nes to Moyses *and* Aaron sonken doun to helle alle qwyke wijf *and* alle þat longed to hem.[104]

The fyueþ heest is, þou schalt slee no man. And þis breken enviouse me*n*, wraþful men, and auarouse men. Enviouse men, for þei haten or backebiten her breþeren, as Ioohn*is*[105] seiþ i*n* þe þridde capitle: "Eche man þat hatiþ his broþir is a mansleer."[106] And he þat seiþ he loueþ his God *and* hatiþ his broþir is a lyer. Wraþful me*n*, for þei smyten or dispisen her breþeren. Seint Austyn seiþ: "A wraþful man is hateful to God; and he is made felawe of feendis." Auarouse men, for þei releue*n* not in nede her euen c*ri*sten. As seiþ Ecclesiasticus, þe ei3tenþe chapiter: "Haue mynde on pou*er*te i*n* tyme of plente; and þe nede of pouerte in þe day of richessis. Fro eerly vnto euen þe tyme schal chaunge."[107]

The sixte is, þou schalt doo no lecherye, **/347/** and þis breken fornicatores, auowtreres, *and* holowres. Fornicatouris, for þei defoulen her bodies in lecherie, as seiþ Toby þe þridde chapiter: "Þe deuel Asmodeus slou3 seuen men for oon wo*m*ma*n*, for þei token hir not aftir þe fourme of wedloke."[108] Auowtreres, for þei breken þe holy sac*ra*ment of wedloke, as seiþ Sapience þe þridde chapitir: "Þei of auowtrye, her seed schal be outlawed; and 3if þei ben of long lijf, at nou3t þei schulen be acou*n*tid, and in her laste eende schulen faile speche."[109] Hollowres, for þei wasten her bodies vnkyndely, as Poule seiþ to þe Ephesies þe fyueþ chapiter: "Þis þing wyte 3ee welle, þat hollowres han noon heritage in þe kyngdom of God."[110]

The seuenþe heest is, þou schalt doo no þefte. And þis breken micheres, robberes, *and* extorciouneres. Michers, for þei stolen pryuely, as seiþ Osee þe fourþe chapiter: "Treuþe is not i*n* erþe, but cursidnesse *and* þefte; for þis þyng schal morne **/348/** alle þat dwellen þerinne."[111] Robberes, for þei robben openly, as seiþ Ysaie þe prophete þe þre *and* þrittieþ chapitir: "Woo to þee þ*at* robbest. Wheþir þisilf schalt

[104] Num. 16: 31–33
[105] This name, presumably John, has two abbreviations, the first above the first *o* does not seem to make sense. This probably means Johannis.
[106] 1 John 3: 15.
[107] Ecclus. 18: 35–36
[108] Tob. 3: 8
[109] Wis. 3: 16–17
[110] Eph. 5: 5.
[111] Hos. 4: 1–3

not be robbed whan þisilf hast robbed; þan schalt þou be robbed."[112] Extorciouneres, for þei spoilen men of her goodis falsly, as seiþ Sapience þe secou*n*de chapitir: "The vnpiteuose ma*n* seiþ, bigile we þe ri3twise ma*n*, for he is vn*pro*fitable to *vs* and co*n*trarye to oure werkis; bi moost foule deeþ condempne we him, and preue we soþe pacience of him."[113]

The ei3te hest.[114] The ei3te heest is, þou schalt bere noon fals witten*us* a3ens þi nei3bores. And þis breken lyeres *and* false questemongeres *and* gloseres. Lieres, for þei haten treuþe, as seiþ Ecclesiasticus þe XX chapitir: "Betir is a þeef þen þe bisynes of a lier, for boþe schulen heritage dampnaciou*n*."[115] Gloseres, for þei hiden treuþe, as seiþ Ysaie þe þre *and* þrittieþ chapitir: "Þis pepil is of hi3e sermou*n* so þ*at* þei mowen not vndirstonde þe slei3nesse of **/349/** her tounge in which is no wysedam."[116] Fals questmongeres, for þei sellen trouþe, as seiþ þe *pro*phete Isaye þe nynþe [*and* fyfty][117] chapiter: "We haue spoken of herte wordis of lesyng, *and* t*ur*ned is backward dome, for treuþe is fallen i*n* þe street, and equite may not goon inne. And he þat forsakeþ synne, abil to be dispised."[118]

Þe ix heest.[119] The nynþe heest is, þou schalt not coueite þine nei3bores house. And þe tenþe is, þou schalt not coueite þy nei3bores wijf, ne his childe, ne noon of his seruau*n*tes, ne noþyng þat is his. And þees breken me*n* þat wrongfully coueyten i*n* herte alle if þei doon it not in dede, as seiþ Ecclesiasticus þe fyueþ chapiter: "Wille þou not coueyte wickedly possessiou*n*s, ne folowe þou i*n* þi strengþe þe coueytyng of þin herte."[120] Men þat wrongefully coueiten in her herte *and* to her power doon it in deede, as seiþ Mathew i*n* þe fiueþ chapitir: "Euery man þat seeþ a wo*m*man to coueite hir haþ doon lecherie wiþ hir in his herte."[121] Men þat han luste *and* lykyng i*n* suche wrongful couey **/350/** tyng, as seiþ Sapience þe fourþe chapiter: "Vnstabiln*us* of coueytise ou*er*turneþ wiþoute*n* malice,"[122] as Seint Ioon

[112] Isa. 33: 1
[113] Wis. 2: 12, 19–20.
[114] Rubric by a later hand inserted in an empty space at the end of the previous line.
[115] Ecclus. 20: 27
[116] Isa. 33: 19
[117] This addition is written above the previous word "nynþe".
[118] Isa. 59: 13–15
[119] Rubric inserted at the end of the previous line in a different hand.
[120] Ecclus. 5: 1–2
[121] Matt. 5: 28
[122] Sap. 4: 12

seiþ þe secou*n*de chapiter: “Þees þingis ben of world: coueitise of iȝen, luste of fleische, and pride of lijf.”[123] And þos þre synnes enwlappeþ al oþ*er* þ*at* ony ma*n* doiþ.

The Seuen Workis of Mercy bodily[124]

Thees ben þe seuen werkes of bodily m*er*cy þ*at* me*n* schulden do to C*ri*ste i*n* his membris. The firste is þis: feede ȝe þoo þat ben hou*n*gry; ȝyue ȝe drynke to þoo þat ben þristi; herberow ȝe gestis i*n* ȝoure housis; cloþe ȝe hem þat ben naked; visite ȝe he*m* þ*at* be*n* sike; goo ȝe to me*n* þat ben i*n* p*ri*sou*n and* visite ȝe hem. Þees sixe rehersiþ Criste i*n* þe gospel;[125] and þe seue*n*þe is i*n* þe Book of Tobie; þat is to berye dede men þat han nede.[126] Alle þees seuen werkis of m*er*cy doon me*n* to Crist whan þei doon hem to his me*m*bris deuoutely i*n* his name. But here men moten haue bisie discrecioun to whom þei doon þees almes, leste þei reu*er*sen Criste, *and* so men schulde*n* doo almus **/351/** oonly to suche as þei supposen bi like signes kepen þe lawe of God. And herfore Crist axeþ too þingis of þine alm*us*: þat þou doo it in his name *and* eeke discretely, for many men may as ypoc*ri*tes axe in Cristis name and i*n* lyuyng or worchyng doo þe co*ntra*rie to his lawe. And herfore Crist telliþ opynly in þe gospel of Seint Luke to who*m* me*n* schulde*n* doo þees dedis of m*er*cy, þ*at* is to men *and* wy*m*me*n* þ*at* ben pore febyl, pore blynde, *and* pore lame.[127] But oþir sterke beggeres doon greet wrong to suche pore folke. But loke algate þ*at* þi good þat þou ȝyuest þine almes of be treuly *and* iustly geten, and þa*n*ne þou schalt haue mede of God i*n* heuen.

Þe vij workis [of][128] merci gostly[129]

The seuen dedis of goostly mercy þat ben betyr þan þe furste sto*n*den in þees seuen wordis: teche, co*m*forte, consaile, chastise, forȝyue, soffir, and preye. A man

[123] 1 Ioan. 2: 16
[124] The beginning of the rubric is written in a different script than “bodili”, which is possibly a later addition.
[125] Matt. 25: 35–36
[126] Tob. 1: 20–21
[127] Luke 14: 13
[128] Preposition missing.
[129] This rubric is by a different hand and is merely a scribble at the end of the line, extending to the margin.

techiþ anoþir bi þe lawe of charite whan he telliþ him for loue [þe][130] biddyng of God. A man conseileþ anoþir **/352/** as he schulde doo whan he moueþ him a wey þat lediþ surely to heuen. A man chastisiþ anoþir bi worde or bi dede or ellis bi wiþdrawyng of bodily helpe whan he helpiþ þat he leeue synne þat he was inne. A man co*m*fortiþ anoþir whan he solasseþ his soule to drawe in Goddis ȝocke for hope of greet mede. A man forȝyueþ anoþir his trespace þat he dide to him whan he askeþ not vengeau*n*ce bi resou*n* of þis trespasse, but helpiþ hi*m* to Godwarde *and* to turne to good lijf. A man soffriþ anoþir whan he takeþ mekely *and* paciently of him repreef, myssawe, or ony persecucyou*n* of Goddis sake. A man schal preie bi Goddis lawe for helpyng boþe of his freendis and of his enemyes, willyng *and* desiryng of he*m* þe blisse of heuen. And as ma*n*nes soule passiþ þe body, so þees seuen goostly werkes passen þe seuen bodily. And herfore euery cristen man is holde*n* to þees seuen.

V þyngis we scholde knowe to love Ih*esu*[131] Crist by[132]

Hit bihoueþ specially to eu*er*y man þ*at* desireþ to loue oure Lorde Ih*es*u Crist **/353/** inwardly in herte fyue þingis. On for to knowe first what himsilf is; the secu*n*de, what was his bigynnyng; þe þridde, who was his maker; þe fourþe, for what eende he fourmed him; þe fifthe, how he schal ordayne himsilf to þe eende þat he was ordayned fore. As to þe firste: but if þ*ou* knowe þisilf, þou art no better þan a rude beest, as þe spouse seiþ in þe Boke of Songis: "But if þou knowe þisilf faire among wy*m*men, wende out after þe flok of þi felaschip *and* fede þe gete."[133] Þis is þus to mene: but if man knowe þe worþinesse of þi kynde, þe whiche passiþ al oþer bewte of þis worlde, *and* most able is to loue his maker *and* to be louyd of hi*m*, ellis þou art but as a beeste; *and* as a beest þou schalt lyue wiþoute sauo*ur* of swetnesse and fede þi fleisch wiþ foule stynkyng lustis, þe whiche ben lykned to gete. And at þe day of dome schalt þou be set on þe lefte half of oure Lord Ih*es*u wiþ þe flok of þe dampnyd felaschip. Þan it is nedeful to knowe þisilf.

[130] The manuscript is soiled and obscure; there seems to be a two-letter word here, possibly "þe", as in the digital image of Garrett 143 (Princeton Garrett 143).
[131] This abbreviation, which must be a form meaning "Ihesu", is written so tightly into the margin that it is virtually illegible.
[132] This rubric seems to be a later addition in a different hand, filling empty space at the end of the previous line and extending into the margin.
[133] Cant. 1:7

/354/ What is þe Kynde of Ma*n* i*n* Bodi *and* i*n* Soule?

Thou schalt vndirstonde þat ma*n* is of two kyndis: on bodili, anoþir goostly; on erþely, anoþ*er* heuenly; on bestial, anoþer sp*irit*ual. Þe bodily kynde is first in ordre of tyme as raþir formed. The goostly kynde is first in ordre of worthinesse; the bodili kynde is þe fleische.

The goostly kynde is callid þe soule, þe whiche soule is þe substancial difference bitwene man *and* beest; and it ow*t* to haue þe fleische in gou*er*nayle as þe Lord þe *ser*uaunt. The soule in itsilf is of twoo kyndis: on þe whiche haþ his bigy*n*nyng of þe fleische *and* hediþ to kepyng of þe fleischely kynde bi þe bodily wittis; þat is callid sensualite. The secu*n*de þ*at* noȝt hedith of bodily þyngis, but oonly of gostly, for to deme bitwene gode *and* yuel, bitwe*n* treuthe *and* falshede, bitwene harm *and pro*fiȝt. Þis part is callid þe spirit *pro*perly *and* þat oþir þe soule, and ȝit ben þei verely on **/355/** þyng and noȝt two.

Þe spirit of man þat is onyd to þe soule in his ferst formyng haþ in himsilf þre p*ri*ncipal miȝttis: mynde, wille, and vndirstandyng, þe whiche þre ben verili oon soule or on spirit formed to þe ymage *and* to þe liknesse of þe Trynite. For oonly þe spirit of man *and* of noon oþir beest may mynde his make*r*e, loue him bi good wille, *and* knowe him bi vndirstondyng. And þat þing þat he myndiþ, louyþ, *and* knowiþ v*er*reily he haþ as þe s*er*uaunt haþ þe lord, as þe chylde þe fader, as þe wijf her spouse, and as þe disciple þe maister. And so þe spirit owiþ to him as to his lord *ser*uice, as to his fadir worschip, as to his spouse hertly loue, as to his maister he owiþ to him drede.

The neþ*er* part of þe soule þat comeþ of þe fleische haþ þe fyue bodily wittis for to deme bitwene colowris, schappis, and quayntise[134] bi þe siȝt of yȝe; bitwene diuerse sownys, lusti or lothsu*m* by heryng; **/356/** bitwene hote *and* colde, wete and drey, liȝt and heuy, soft and hard bi felyng; bitwene soure and swete bi taastyng; bitwene sote and vnsau*er*y bi smellyng; and alle þese exp*er*iense he schewiþ to þe spirit wherbi þe spirit schal þe more clerly knowe his makere.

[134] This word, meaning, among others, “beauty” (*Middle English Dictionary*, 2018), is probably a scribal error in the transmission of the text and should read “q*uay*ntites”, like in Harley 2398, fol. 128v, line 18.

Þus seiþ Poule: “Þe inuisible Godhede *and* his endles myȝt may be knowe of worldly creatures *and* vndirstande bi þis visible *and* bodily þingis þat he maad and formed able to be parseyued bi oure bodily wittis.”[135] And so schal þe spirit be meuyd for to loue his makere and rauysche þee sensualite fro loue of fleischlynesse *and* lust of bodily þinges into feruent affeccio*u*n to him þat alle made. And þer agayn, ȝif it so is þat þe sensualite amaistre þe spirit, drawyng it dou*n*ward into loue of þese formed creatures for to fastne his affecc*i*ou*n* in any of hem alle, þan doiþ he cont*ra*ry to his kynde *and* vnabliþ himself to his owen heritage. **/357/**

[135] Rom. 1:20

9 Glossary

For constructing this glossary the following dictionaries have been used: the *Middle English Dictionary* (2018), Mayhew and Skeat's *A Concise Dictionary of Middle English. From A.D. 1150 to 1580* (2008), and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019). The numbers after each headword refer to the MS page/MS line number as in the digital image of the manuscript in Appendix B and Edition 1. The numbers in brackets refer to the MS page/line number in Edition 2.

algate *adv.* always 340/19, 351/12, (340/40, 351/173)

avowtrie *n*. adultery 338/13, (338/11)

awayte *v. imp*. watch 343/12, (343/73)

bacbytynge *vbl. n*. backbiting, slandering 339/19, (339/28)

beest *n*. a member of the animal kingdom, man included; an animal; a brutish or stupid man 353/8, 16, 354/11, 355/8, (353/199, 203, 354/213, 355/223)

besauntes *n*. *pl*. talents, gold coins named from Byzantium 338/3, (338/5)

biddyng *vbl. n*. ~ *of God* praying for God 351/22, (351/179)

bigile *v. imp*. beguile, deceive 348/8, (338/133)

bihoueþ *v. pres. 3. sg*. *hit* ~ it is necessary 352/21, (352/193)

clerkus *n. pl*. members of the clergy 339/7, (339/21)

couches *n*. *pl*. couches, beds; bedrooms 344/20, (344/91)

culuerun *n. pl.* doves 340/8, (340/34)

delectabule *adj.* pleasing to the senses, delightful 339/13, (339/24)

eeke *conj*. also 351/4, (351/169)

enwlappeþ *v. pres. 3. p. sg.* enclose, enfold, surround 350/6, (350/157)

equite *n*. justice 349/6 (349/144)

fend *n.* Satan, devil, fiend 339/16, 340/1,10,14, (339/26, 340/ 30, 35, 37); **vendus** *n. gen*. ~ *voys* fiend's voice 340/19, (340/39)

fer *adj*. distant, far 345/3, (345/94)

forme *adj. superl.* first ~ *fadur* Adam 340/14, (340/37)

formed *v. pa. p.* created 354/7, 355/6, 356/11,19, (354/209, 355/221, 356/235, 239); **fourmed** 353/5, (353/196); **formyng** *vbl. n*. creation 355/2–3, (355/219)

forsoþe *adv.* truly 345/3, (345/94)

frowarde *adj*. unwilling, disobedient, stubborn 345/11, (345/99); **froward** 345/16, (345/102); **frowardnus** *n***.** disobedience 345/18, (345/103)

fumygaciouns *n. pl*. aromatic fumes 341/6, (341/45)

gete *n. pl.* goats, *fig.* lusts 353/12, 19, (353/199, 203)

gloseres *n. pl.* self-seeking, servile flatterers 348/16, 19, (348/137, 139)

glosynge *vbl. n.* deceitful talk, adulation, cajolery, flattery 339/20, (339/28)

Godhede *n.* deity, divine nature, God's essential nature 356/8, (356/234)

ȝouen *v. pa. p.* given 337/3, (337/2)

harlotrie *n*. sexual immorality, obscenity 339/21, (339/29)

heest *n*. a command 345/9, 346/5, 347/17, 348/13, 349/8, (345/98, 346/108, 347/126, 348/136, 349/146); **hest** 343/15, 348/12, (343/76, 348/136)

herberow *v. imp*. offer shelter to (sb) 350/12, (350/161)

holowres *n. pl.* fornicators, adulterers 347/2, (347/118)

huyre *v.* hear 339/12, 14, 18, (339/24, 25, 27); **huyreþ** 340/10, (340/35); **huyringe** *n.* hearing 339/4, 10–11, (339/21, 23); **herynge** 337/6, 339/3, 7, 340/13, (337/4, 339/19, 21, 340/36); **heryng** 355/22, (355/230)

iapus *n. pl*. tricks, deceits, frauds 339/21, (339/29)

yȝe *n. pl*. eyes 338/18, 355/21, (338/14, 355/229); **iȝen** *pl.* 350/4, (350/156)

iset *v. pa. p*. placed 338/7, (338/8)

yuel *adj*. evil 338/6, 344/20, 345/8, 354/19, (338/8, 344/91, 345/97, 354/216); **yueles** *n. pl*. 338/17, (338/14)

lesyng *vbl. n.* lying 349/4, (349/143); **lesyngis** *pl.* lying [lies] 339/20, (339/28)

lettid *v. pa. p*. given up, neglected, *þe dewe seruyse of God is* ~ 342/1, (342/54)

longed *v. pa. pl.* ~ *to hem* pined after them 346/4, (346/107)

mawmetrye *n.* the worship of idols or worldly goods 343/8, (343/71)

mede *n*. gift, profit 351/15, 352/7, (351/174, 352/184)

medeful *adj*. meritorious, spiritually beneficial 343/20, (343/79)

mete *n*. food, nourishment 341/22, (341/53)

micheres *n*. *pl.* sneaky thieves 347/19, (347/126)); **michers** 347/19, (347/127)

morwe *n*. morning 344/21, (344/91)

moten *v. pres. pl*. must, are obliged to 350/20, (350/165)

mowen *v. pres. pl* can, are able 348/22, (348/141)

mynde *n.* the human mind as the seat of memory, thought, reason, will, imagination or emotion 355/3, (355/220) *have* ~ remember, take thought (344/12, 346/18, (344/87, 346/115); **mynde** *v.* 355/8, (355/222) to mind, to remember, to think about (sb. or sth.) *may* ~ *his makere* 355/8, (355/222)

myssawe *n*. insult 352/13, (352/187)

naddere *n*. snake, serpent, adder 340/2, (340/31); **nadder** *v. þe oolde* ~ *þe fend* the Devil 340/13, (340/37)

nedeful *adj*. necessary, useful 344/2, 353/22, (344/81, 353/205)

neþer *adv*. downward, low 355/18, (355/228)

on *num.* one 353/1, 354/3, 4, 5, 14, 22, 355/5, (353/194, 354/206, 207, 207, 213, 218, 355/221); **oon** 340/4, 11, 343/3, 347/5, 355/5, (340/31, 35, 343/68, 347/119, 355/220)

petrie *n.* a variant of **patrie** *n.* insincere praying 339/21, (339/29)

prechours *n*. preachers, friars. ~ *prenten in men* preachers stamp in people 339/10, (339/24)

preue *v. imp. 1. pl.* test 348/11, (348/134)

pryuely *adv*. secretly 347/20, (347/127)

quayntise *n*. beauty 355/21, (355/229)

questemongeres *n. pl.* people who initiate lawsuits for profit 348/15, (348/137); **questmongeres** 349/2, (349/142)

qwyke *adj.* living 346/3, (346/107)

raþir *adv*. *comp*. at an earlier time, previously, first 354/7, (354/209)

reken *v. inf.* to be accountable; *schulen ~ at þe doome* shall be accountable at the Last Judgment 344/1, (344/80)

reuersen *v. pres. pl*. contradict 350/22, (350/166)

rude *adj.* ignorant, simple 353/8, (353/199)

scapuþ *v. pres. 3. p. sg.* escapes 340/5, (340/32)

schent *v. pa. p.* destroyed 340/21, (340/41)

sclaundrynge *vbl. n*. scandalizing, slandering 339/19–20, (339/28)

sleiȝnesse *n.* eloquence, cunning, guile 348/22, (348/141)

slouȝ *v. pa. 3. sg*. slew, killed 347/5, (347/119)

smyten *v. pres. pl.* hit, strike, beat 346/13, (346/112)

sonus *n*. *pl.* sons, descendants 345/15, (345/101)

soþe *adv.* truthfully, indeed 345/3, 348/11–12, (345/94, 345/134)

sotul *adj.* keen, refined 338/5, 339/4, (338/7, 339/19)

sown *n.* sound 339/6, 12, (339/20, 24); **sownys** *n. pl*. 355/22, 355/230

spoilen *v. pres. pl.* rob 348/6, (348/132)

talus *n. pl*. tales 339/20, (339/29)

terreþ *v*. *pr. 3. sg.* provokes 345/16, (345/102)

ton *pron.* usually preceded by **the:** the one, used in correlation with **that other**. *þe ~ ere sche layeþ to þe erþe and þat oþur sche stoppuþ wiþ hire tayl* 340/4, (340/31)

tyne *n.* time, moment 340/18, (340/39)

vnbuxum *adj*. defiant, rebellious, willful 345/21, (345/105); **vnbuxsumnes** *n.* disobedience 346/2, (346/106)

vendus *n. gen.* fiend's**;** see **fend**

voide *v. imp.* ~ *fro* withdraw or run away from 342/9, (342/58)

wedloke *n*. marriage 347/6, 8, (347/120, 121)

wende *v. imp*. walk 353/11, (353/199)

wit *n*. one of the physical senses 338/4 (6); **witte** 341/19 (45); **wittus** *pl.* 337/1 (1); **wittes** 337/4 (2); **wittis** 354/16 (189)

wyte *v. imp*. know for a fact 347/15, (347/125)

ȝocke *n.* yoke, a bar of wood constructed to unite two oxen for field work *Goddis* ~ submission to God's law offering true rest for the soul **(**Matt. 11: 28–30) 352/7, (352/183)

10 Discussion

Like other medieval manuscripts, the Primer retains much of its mystery. It can be seen as a primer of the type of basic instruction, a descendant of manuals on Christian doctrine and morals promulgated by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. It could have been used for preparation for confession: studying one's conscience and becoming more aware of one's self and motivations. It contains in a short form many of the core teachings of the medieval church on good works and ethical behavior along with some effort to dissect the psychology of the believing human being in the mode of late medieval science.

On the other hand, it bears witness to a phase in history when more laypeople were becoming literate and more well-off, wanting to know about their faith and having the time and means to buy, read, or listen to other people reading books aloud in the vernacular. One outcome of this learning and teaching the scripture in the mother tongue enabled laypeople to gather together and question and reformulate both the spiritual and secular power of the Church. In a sense the Lollards were rational pre-Protestants, promoting literacy and learning. They were keen on the ethical life and reduced some of the traditional, mysterious beliefs and practices of the Church back into just what the Bible said. The Church responded by banning the English vernacular Wycliffite Bible, suppressing and persecuting the heterodox, and burning their books. The relationship of Lollardy to orthodox thought is still a gray area, even today. In any case, Hunter 520 was written at the time of controversy where any vernacular book of its kind might be suspect, and many did contain elements both from orthodox and heterodox sources. For the modern researcher identifying these elements is almost an impossible feat, because Lollards aimed and much succeeded in hiding their traces (Hudson, 1988, pp. 9–32). Although Church authorities sought to define heresy clearly, it is unlikely that most medieval compilers, scribes, and readers were able to do so (Havens, 2005, p. 338).

At the beginning of this thesis I quoted Kuczynski: "The puzzle of divine wrath […] is another way medieval moralists aggravate their readers' awareness of their ultimate responsibility for moral choices" (2003, p. 320) of which Kuczynski gave Yale University, Beinecke MS 360 as an example, calling it a *Lollard prayer book*. If one does not pray to the Virgin and the Saints, the intercessors and objects of much

of orthodox medieval piety in the popular Books of Hours, what might one's devotion be like? Possibly Hunter 520 might offer an alternative in meditating on the end of one's life, praying to God and Jesus, and striving for moral purity.

The Primer itself and the whole codex of Hunter 520 are a witness to the life of fourteenth century people, which was constantly juxtaposed with an afterlife, the prospect that was regarded terrifying to almost everyone at least to a degree. The Primer employs black-and-white vocabulary, but highly specializing on the black end, and keeps referring to the Last Judgment and especially to acts leading to damnation. Although technically and occasionally it does mention things like "love of God" and "savour of sweetness", it dwells in an atmosphere of guilt, anxiety, and fear of *life*, as, if not controlled, it might lead to a very bad outcome at death. To prevent this, every measure must be taken. An important one might be belonging to a group with the right faith, that is, other people devoutly reading texts such as the Primer.

Producing an edition of unedited texts, especially if they are as unique as those in the Primer of MS Hunter 520, is significant *per se* and makes the text more readily available for future analysis of other scholars. The importance of the Primer as a cultural object goes far beyond church history, catechesis, or, indeed, historical linguistics or textual studies. The Primer was very much concerned with the beliefs of the individual and their problems in the world. They were to change themselves in order to remove sin and attain salvation. The act of confession which was related to texts like the Primer required similar introspection as psychotherapy today. Desplenter and Pieters (2017, p. 3) state that confessional literature focused on the individual rather than aiming to change the society. There is scholarly consensus that through examining the self through the concept of sin and guilt, the practice of introspection and self-questioning lead to early modern individuality and individuation. In modern research, confessional texts give new insights into possibilities how introspection might develop (Desplenter and Pieters, 2017, pp. 1–2).

11 Conclusion

This Master's thesis has highlighted a number of distinct problem areas in English medieval studies. First, it draws attention to questions of literary genre and the difficulty of formulating precise definitions in this area. Related to this topic is the question of audience—to whom were certain texts destined?—which itself forces one to consider the relationships between orthodox and heterodox thought and practice. Finally, the philological component seeks to demonstrate that modern editing of a medieval text is not a straightforward business and, like the other issues mentioned above, is open to more than one line of interpretation.

Modern scholars use the Middle English term "primer" rather imprecisely to denote at least three different kinds of religious books associated with prayer, sometimes interchangeably: prayer books, primers, and Books of Hours (Ch. 3). On the most generical level, the term can be used of prayer books and, on the most specific level, of a type of devotional anthology called the Book of Hours, which had become quite standardized by the late fourteenth century. It was an extremely popular laypeople's version of prayers at the canonical hours in monasteries, containing, among others, prayers to the Virgin and the saints and on behalf of the deceased. Between the prayer books and Books of Hours fall books of elementary literary and religious education called children's primers. They are sometimes specified as ABC primers, because they begin with a cross, an alphabet, and the three basic prayers, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Creed, sometimes followed by tracts of religious instruction. Learning to read is related to praying as it was conducted in a spiritual mode. Letters, reading, and words on a page were considered holy because God had revealed himself through the Sacred Word. The Primer in Hunter 520 does not fit into any of these types of primer, but the texts are of the type which could be included in an ABC primer after the Creed. However, they could be considered as a type of primer by themselves, as they are short, instructive, elementary texts on Christian life for the layperson.

It can be argued whether the Primer in Hunter 520 should, *strictly speaking*, be classified as a "primer", as University of Glasgow does in its *Manuscripts Catalogue*. What is clear, however, is that it belongs to the handbooks of Middle

English religious instruction, intrinsically related to confession (Ch. 4), which were produced in rising numbers as a consequence of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. There Pope Innocent III decreed that all Christians must confess to their parish priest annually at Easter and take part in Communion. The right understanding of confession required educating both priests and laypeople in Christian fundamentals. During confession, priests were to examine the confessants each year in their knowledge of their faith. In England, John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, enumerated the essentials of doctrine and morals which the layperson was to know and the priest was to teach his flock four times a year. Pecham's *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* of 1281 was followed in the mid-fourteenth century by the popular *Lay Folks' Catechism* in alliterative verse of John Thoresby, Archbishop of York. As the list of catechetical topics the layperson should understand for their salvation expanded, more and more compilations expounding them started appearing, initially in Latin but soon also in English. The first four texts in the Primer all belong to the obligatory topics that the layperson was to know for the sake of their soul in the late fourteenth century. Some readers of the Primer may have used it to prepare themselves for confession. John Mirk's manual *Instructions for Parish Priests* describes an ideal, detailed examination of conscience at confession, but reality must have made it much briefer at Easter. It is possible that for Lollard readers who did not believe that priests could absolve anyone's sins, the Primer would have been read for true inner contrition, which they considered necessary for salvation.

The Primer in Hunter 520 (Ch. 5) is a guide to living a good Christian life and avoiding sin in order to save both body and soul. The arguments in the first three texts are amply supported by biblical quotations, which was common medieval practice but especially typical of Lollard texts. The first two texts take up almost two thirds of the Primer. The first text, the *Five Bodily Wits* (Ch. 5.1), discusses how to guard the five senses, that is, sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching, from sins. Sins committed through the senses lead to more dangerous ones that cause death for the soul and eternal damnation. The second text, the *Ten Commandments* (Ch. 5.2), is organized in a compact, rigid Wycliffite structure. First each commandment is stated, then three types of breakers of the commandment are identified, and finally the Bible is cited for each case to verify the truth of what was said. Not keeping the ten commandments will lead to damnation. The third text, the

Seven Works of Bodily Mercy (Ch. 5.3), describes the good actions of alleviating the material misfortune of the poor and weak that a Christian must do to hope for Salvation at the Day of Doom, much of it being almsgiving. The fourth text, the *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy* (Ch. 5.4), relates to actions that ameliorate the spiritual well-being of others. The fifth text, *Five Things We Should Know to Love Jesus Christ* (Ch. 5.5.), seems to be a fragment related to the sixth text. Knowing one's spiritual purpose helps to turn away from the world and transcend one's foul, bestial flesh into loving and being loved by God in order to avoid everlasting fire. The sixth text, *What is the Kind of Man in Body and Soul* (Ch. 5.6) is a philosophical tract discussing ideas on the structure and hierarchical relationships between the body and the soul. The upper part of the soul has three powers, Mind, Will, and Understanding, and is informed through the five senses of the lower part of the soul. The upper part of the soul must master the lower part of the soul to move the flesh away from love of the world toward man's purpose, the love of God.

Most of the content of the Primer can be understood to be mainstream orthodox with possibly some slightly radical ideas, although there are also aspects that point to a Lollard direction. The Primer lacks features of orthodox devotion offensive to Lollards, but it also lacks radically expressed Lollard ideas offensive to Church authorities. The general tone of heightened eschatological interest, expounding on sins, and documenting each idea with a Bible quotation would have been consistent with Lollard practice, but does not prove Lollardy. The *Ten Commandments* can be considered as Lollard because of the Wycliffite structure of the tract. The Primer contains typical Wycliffite vocabulary, such as "eche man þat is *trewe* in Christ" and *mawmetrye.* The fourth commandment lacks mentioning the spiritual father. The seventh and eighth commandment have allusions to the persecution of the just. The *Works of Bodily Mercy* emphasize giving alms to only those who "kepen the lawe of god", and not "sterke beggeres", which may mean mendicant friars. *The Works of Ghostly Mercy* describe reproaching sinners quite forcefully, also by withdrawing of bodily help, and suffering involves taking meekly and patiently reproof, insult and persecution for God's sake. *Five Things* includes an untraditional interpretation of a verse in the Canticles. The deeply spiritual, centuries-old allegory of the love between Bride and Bridegroom, who represent the Church and Christ or the Soul and the Word, has been strikingly transformed, so that the Bride represents vanity, foul

lusts, and associating with the damned. *Body and Soul* has nothing unorthodox about it, but the three powers of man's soul was an idea expressed in other manuscripts associated with the Wycliffites.

I made two editions of the Primer, Edition 1 and Edition 2, which can be used by different audiences but also to supplement each other. The first aims at an accurate version of one scribe's usage of a text on a graphemic level, representing abbreviations by symbols, and retaining medieval punctuation, decorated initials, emphasized letters, and elements of the layout. Edition 2 has been made in the 150-year-old tradition of The Early English Text Society with some alterations to make the text more transparent. For historical linguists, an EETS type of edition may be too interpretive, as the exact manuscript data cannot be retrieved. However, for understanding ideas in a manuscript, it serves its purpose well. The glossary, notes, and biblical reference will enable theologians, historians, and any scholars interested in fourteenth century confessional literature examining the self to use the manuscript for their own research more easily.

Further philological research might include identifying and studying the scribal dialect and layers of language, paleography, decoration, and layout of the related three manuscripts in order to elucidate their textual transmission and the whereabouts of their production. The texts in the three related manuscripts, Hunter 520, Garrett 143, and Harley 2398 could be presented side-by-side in a digital edition or in a critical edition. The Primer would be an interesting resource for studying why certain kinds of vocabulary retain a spelling with certain allographs which otherwise are untypical for the scribe.

Manuscripts Cited

Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 520

London, British Library, MS Harley 2398

New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 258

Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 143

Yale University, Beinecke MS 360

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Appendices

Appendix A. Index of Manuscripts Containing Texts in Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 520

Previously edited texts are marked with an asterisk (*)

Other extant manuscripts are indicated in the form as mentioned in Jolliffe (1974), marked with (J); Lewis, Blake, and Edwards (1985), marked with (LBE); or *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (n.d.).

All texts are by an unknown author.

*1. *The Pore Catif [Caitifff]* pp. 1–268.

Other MSS:

Add. 30897, Harley 953, Harley 1197, Harley 1706, Harley 2322, Harley 2335, Harley 2336, Harley 4012, Stowe 38, Bodl. Add. B.66, Bodl. Ashmole 1286, Bodl. 3, Bodl. 423, Bodl. 938, Bodl. Douce 13, Bodl. Douce 288, Bodl. Douce 322, Bodl. eng. th.c.50, Bodl. eng. th.e.1, Bodl. James 3, Bodl. Lyell 29, Bodl. Rawlinson C 69, Bodl. Rawlinson C 209, Bodl. Rawlinson C 699, Bodl. Rawlinson C 751, Bodl. Rawlinson C 882, Bodl. Tanner 336, Exeter College Oxford 49, Magdalen College Oxford 93, U.L.C. Ff.5.45, U.L.C. Ff.6.34, U.L.C. Ff. 6.55, U.L.C. Hh.1.12, U.L.C. Ii.6.40, St John's College Cambridge G. 28 (195), Trinity College Cambridge B.14.53 (336), Bibl. Nat. Angl. 41, Colchester Museum, Coughton Court (Throckmorton), Downside 26542 (Dartford), Trinity College Dublin 520 (C.5.24), G.U.L Hunter 496 (V.7.23), Harvard College Eng. 701, John Rylands Eng. 85, John Rylands Eng. 87, John Rylands Eng. 412, Lambeth 484, Lambeth 541, Longleat 4, Meade Falkner MS (ex-Amherst 25) later Tregaskis, New York Public Library 68, Reading, Berks. Record Office, Soc.Antiq. 300, Westminster School 3. (J)

Printed: Spalding, *Charters*, pp. 100–102. Edited: Brady, *Pore Caitif*. (J)

*2. *The Mirrour of Synneris.* pp. 268–283.

Other MSS:

Oxford University 97, Cambridge Magdalene Pepys 2125, CUL Ff.5.45, CUL Ff.6.55, Coughton Court Throckmorton MS, Glasgow University Hunterian 496, BL Harley 1706, BL Harley 2339, BL Harley 4012, BL Addl. 22283, BL Addl. 60577, London Society of Antiquaries 300, Longleat Marquis of Bath 32, Manchester Rylands English 85, Manchester Rylands English 412, Bodl Bodley 3, Bodl Douce 13, Bodl Laud Miscellaneous 23, Bodl Laud Miscellaneous 174, Bodl Lyell 29, Bodl Tanner 336. (LBE)

Printed: Horstman, Yorkshire Writers, ii.436–440. Latin text in Migne PL, 40, 983–992.

*3. *The Thre Arowis That Schulen be Schett at Domys Day*. pp. 283–295.

Other MSS:

Oxford University 97, Cambridge Magdalene Pepys 2125, TCC B.14.53, CUL Ff.2.38, CUL Ff.5.45, CUL Ff.6.55, Coughton Court Throckmorton MS, Glasgow University Hunterian 496, BL Arundel 197, BL Harley 1706, BL Harely 2339, BL Harley 2385, BL Harley 2388, BL Addl. 10036, BL Addl. 22283, Manchester Rylands English 85, Bodl Bodley 3, Bodl Douce 13, Bodl Laud Miscellaneous 23, Bodl Laud Miscellaneous 174, Bodl Tanner 336 (LBE)

4. *The Foure Errouris*, pp. 295/line 10–297/12. 361 words.

Other MSS:

U.L.C. Ff. 6.31 (2), Harley 2388, U.L.C. Ff. 6.55, Trinity College Cambridge R.3.21(601), Durham Cath. A.iv.22, Edinburgh Univ. Lib. 93, G.U.L Hunter 512, Soc. Antiq. 300. (J)

*5. *Meditationes*. Attributed to St. Augustine. English translation. pp. 297–315.

Other MSS:

BL Harley 1706, CUL Hh.1.12, Manchester Rylands English 412, Bodl Douce 322, Bodl Laud Miscellaneous 23, Bodl Addl. C.87. (LBE)

6. *An Argument Aghens Wanhope*, pp. 315/4–335/19. 3 723 words

Other MSS:

Bristol Public Library 6, CUL Hh.1.11, Leeds University Brotherton 501, BL Harley 6615, BL Addl. 37049, Longleat Marquis of Bath 29. (LBE)

In Hunter 520, the text seems to be corrupt and hardly readable.

7. Primer (extracts). pp. 337–356. 3 394 words

a) *Þe V bodili wittus*. pp. 337/1—under a space left for a picture—342/19. 924 words

Other MSS:

Princeton Garrett 143, ff. 26v–29v

b) *The ten comaundementis*. pp. 342/19–350/6. 1267 words. Not recorded by J.

c) *The seuen workis of mercy bodili*. pp. 350/7–351/15. 263 words. Not recorded by Jolliffe.

d) *The seuen workis of merci gostly*. pp. 351/15–352/20. 212 words. Not recorded by Jolliffe.

e) *V þyngis we scholde knowe to love Jesus Christ*. pp. 352/20–353/22. 219 words

Other MSS:

Harley 2398, f.128r, **Princeton Garrett 143**, f. 36r–v. Followed in all texts by *What is þe kynde of man in bodi and in soule.*

e) *What is þe kynde of man in bodi and in soule*. pp. 354/1–356/22. 500 words

Other MSS:

Harley 2398, ff. 128r–129r, **Princeton Garrett 143**, ff.36v–38r, published in *Notes and Queries*, 212 (1967), 243–244.

V þyngis we scholde knowe to love Jesus Christ and *What is þe kynde of man in bodi and in soule* appear as part of a longer, possibly composite, treatise in Harley 2398.

8. *Bona Oratio*. pp. 357/1–366/3. 1611 words.

Other MSS:

Harley 535, Arundel 197, Harley 1706, **Harley 2398**, Harley 2445, Nijmegen U.L. 194, Lansdowne 381 (2), Roy 8.C.1, Bodl. 789, Bodl. Douce 322, Bodl. Laud misc. 23, Bodl. Rawlinson C 894. (J)

9. *Alia Bona Oratio.* pp. 366/3–371/12. 840 words. Not recorded by Jolliffe.

Other MSS:

Bodl. Ashmole 750, Bodl. Ashmole 41 , Bodl. Douce 141, Bodl. Douce 322, Bodl. Eng. poet. a.1, [Vernon MS], Bodl. Rawlinson A.389, Bodl. Rawlinson poet. 175, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Library Addit. 6693 [*olim* Ashburnham App. 236], Egerton 3245 [*olim* Gurney], Harley 1706, Harley 2339, Sloane 963, Lambeth Palace Library 853, Lincoln Cathedral Lib. 91 [Robert Thornton MS], Maidstone, Kent, Maidstone Museum MS 6, Windsor, St George's Chapel, Windsor E.I.I, Edinburgh, National Lib. of Scotland, Advocates' 19.3.1, Beinecke, Takamiya Deposit 15. (*The Digital Index of Middle English Verse*)

10. *An Argument Aghens Wanhope*. pp. 371/13–389/7. 3186 words.

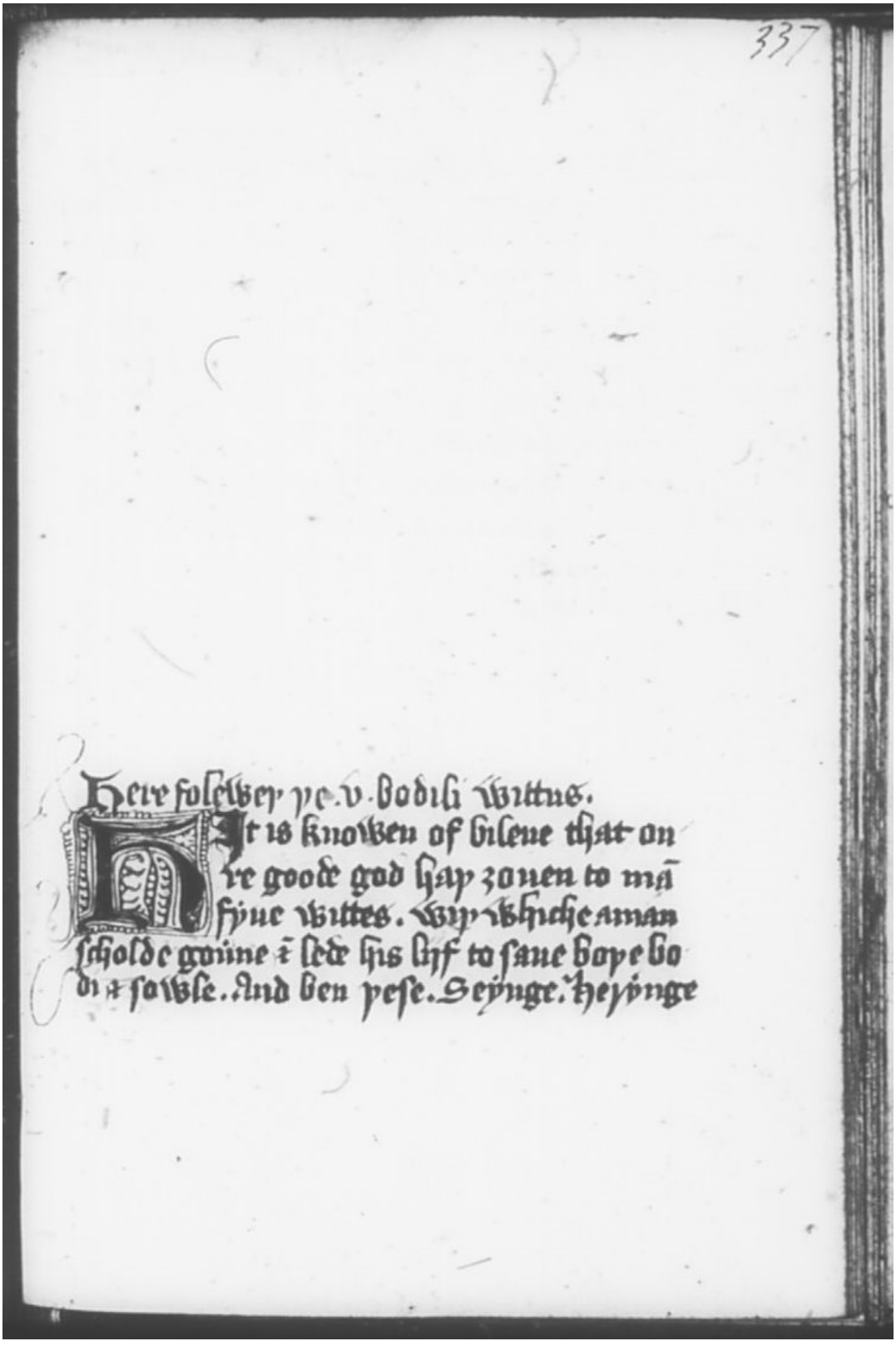
Other MSS:

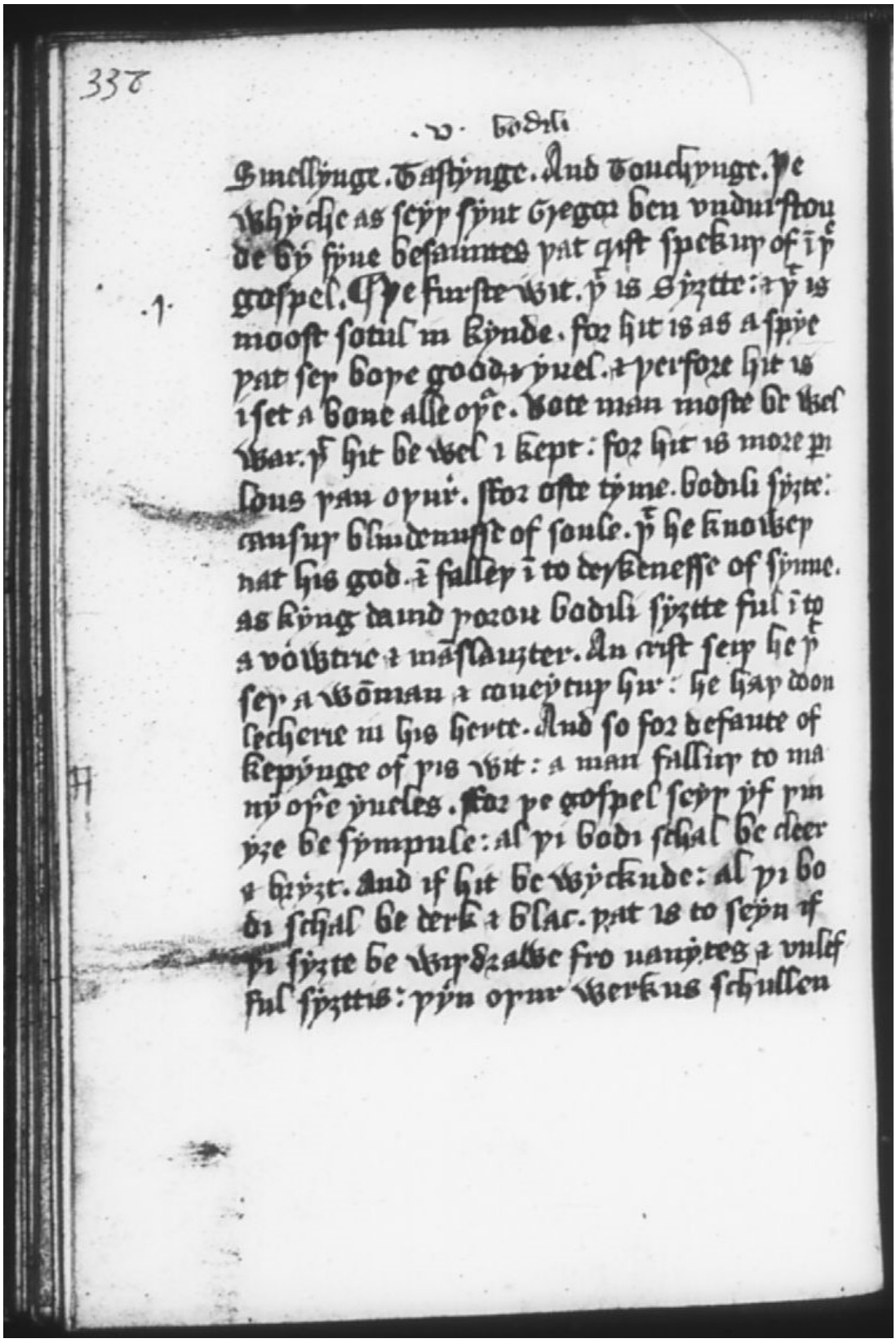
Bodl.Laud misc.210, This constitutes the final section of a sermon for Easter Day in **Harley 2398** ff. 175r–185r and Pepys 2125 ff. 139r–143r. (J)

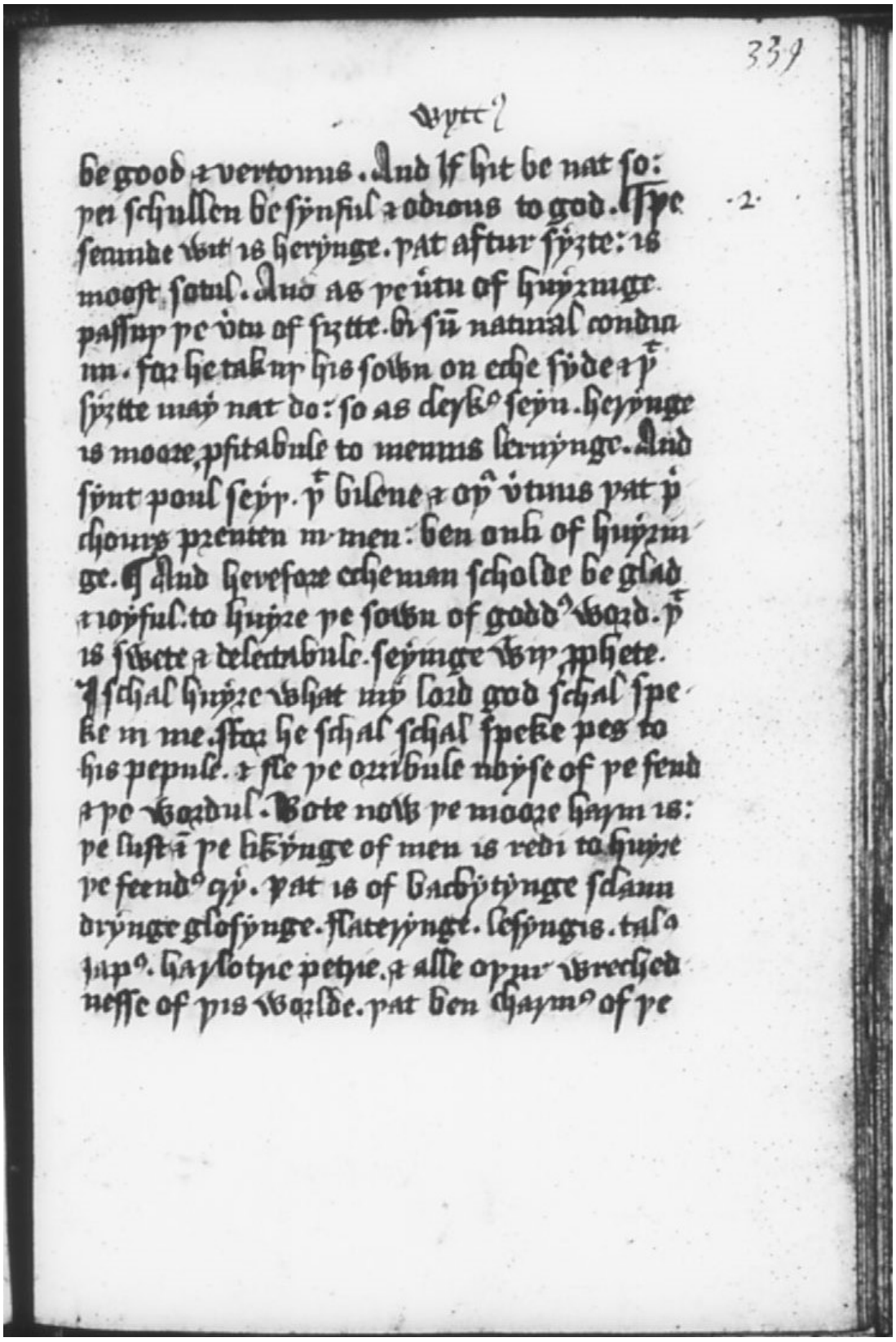
University of Glasgow (n. d.) mentions the following MSS not recorded by Jolliffe (1974): Bodleian Library MS Hatton 96, MS Hatton 96

Appendix B. The Digital Images of Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 520, pp. 337–356

Printed by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections



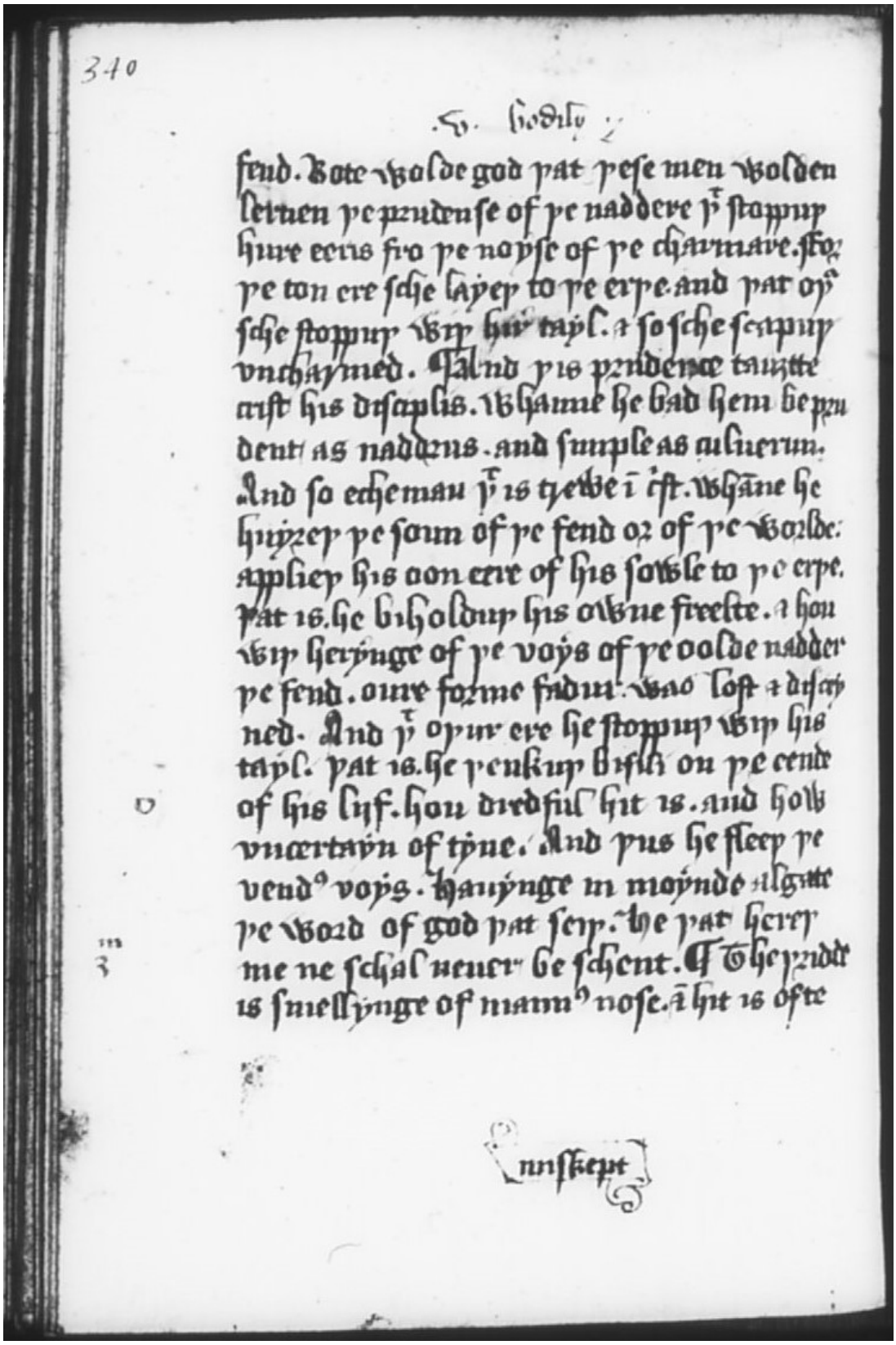




339

Wytt'

be good & vertomus. And if hit be nat so:
yei schullen be synful & odious to god. The
seconde wit is heryngе. pat after syzte: is
moost soul. And as pe útu of huyzinge
passup pe útu of syzte. bi sū natural condi
m. for he takup his solbn on eche syde & p̄
syzte may nat do: so as deyb⁹ seyn. heyynge
is moore profitabule to menus seruynge. And
synt poul seyp. p̄ bilene & op̂ útus pat þ
chouys prenten m men: ben onli of huyzin
ge. ¶ And heresore eche man scholde be glad
& noyful. to huyre pe solbn of godd⁹ word. p̄
is swete & delectabule. seynge wip pphete.
I schal huyre what my lord god schal spe
ke in me. for he schal schal speke pes to
his pepule. & sle pe orribule noyse of pe fend
& pe wordul. Bote nolb pe moore haym is:
pe lust ī pe likynge of men is redi to huyre
pe feend⁹ opp. pat is of backbytynge scam
drynge glosynge. flateynge. lesynges. tal⁹
iap⁹. haylotyc petyc. & alle opur wreched
nesse of pis worlde. pat ben chaym⁹ of pe



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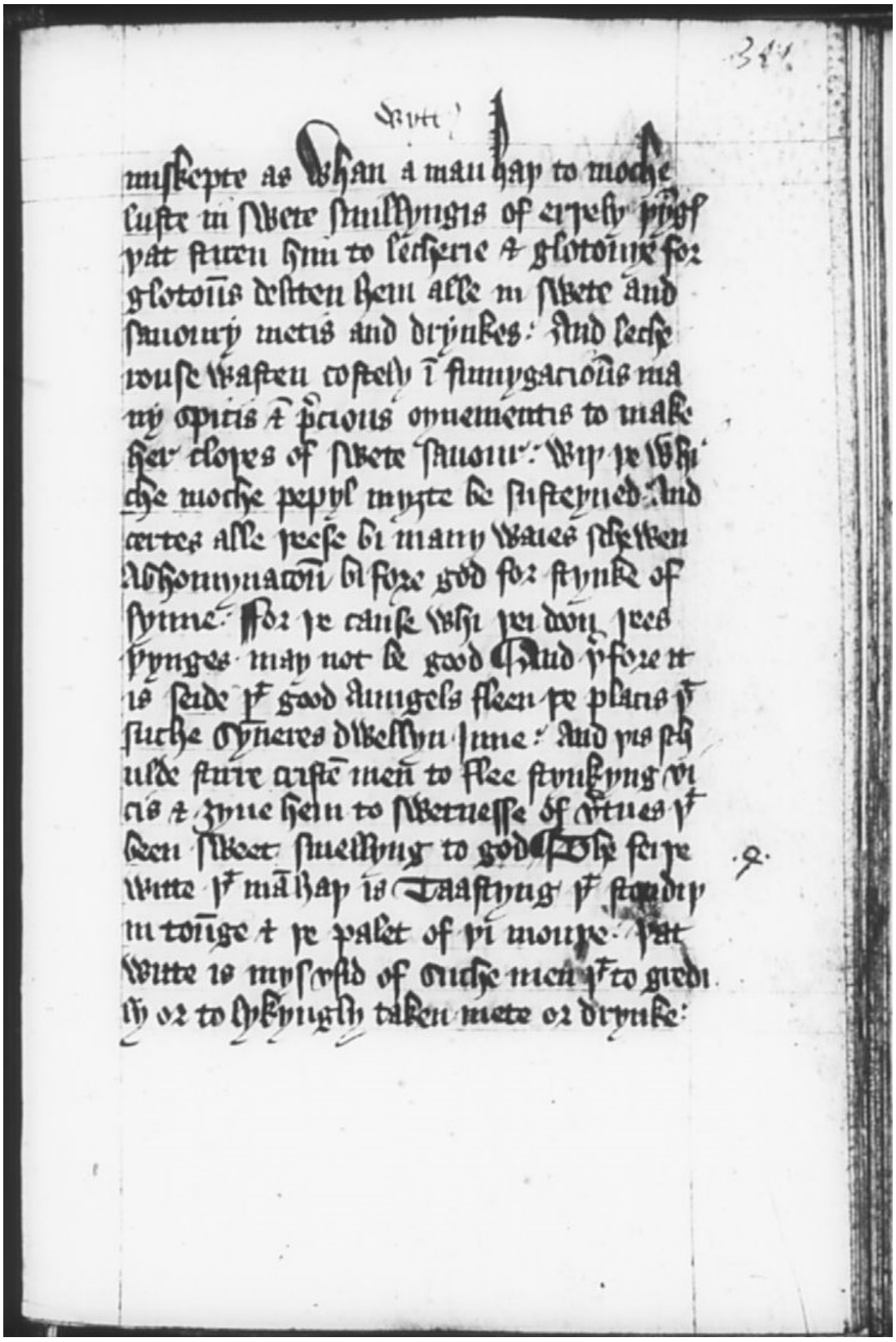
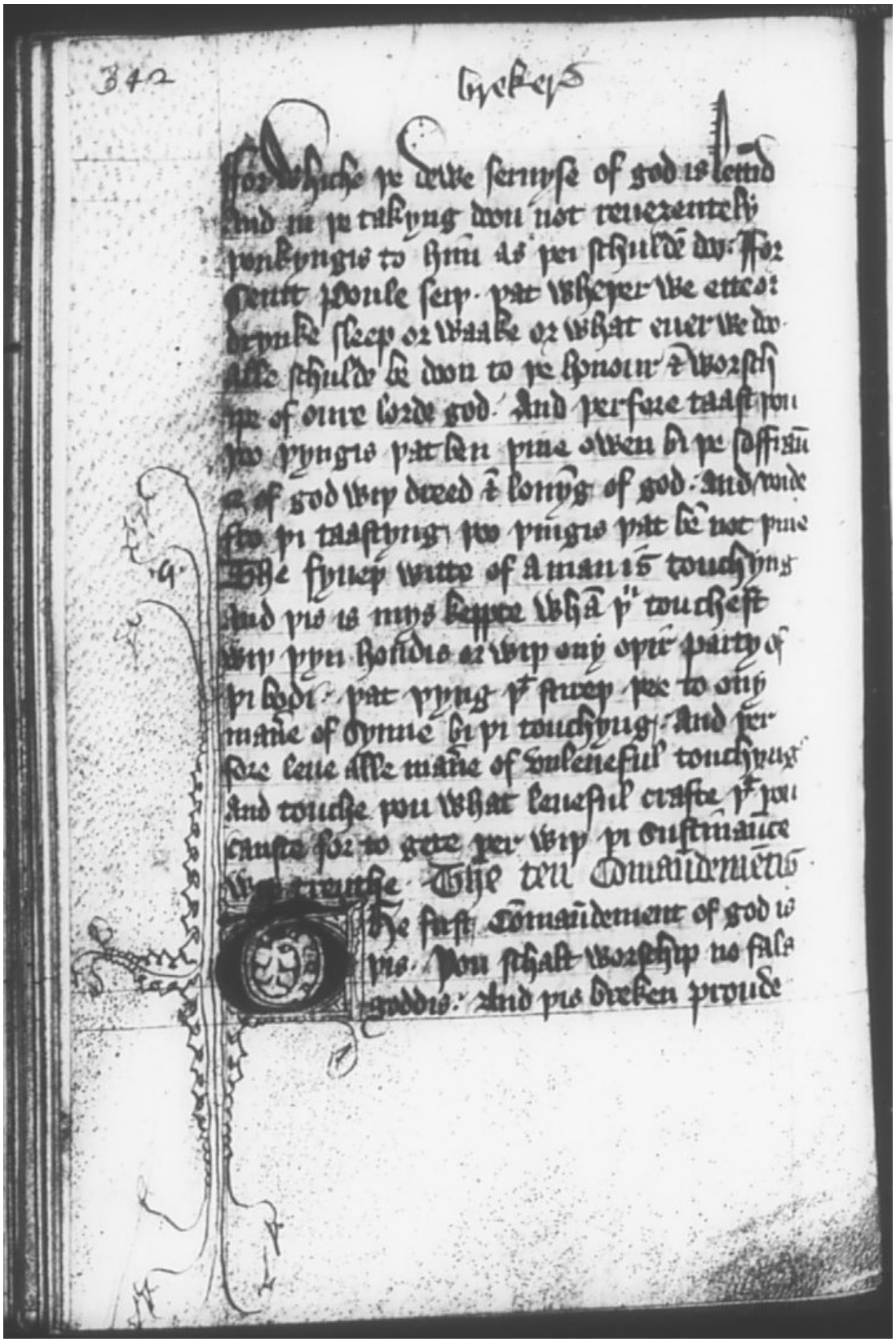
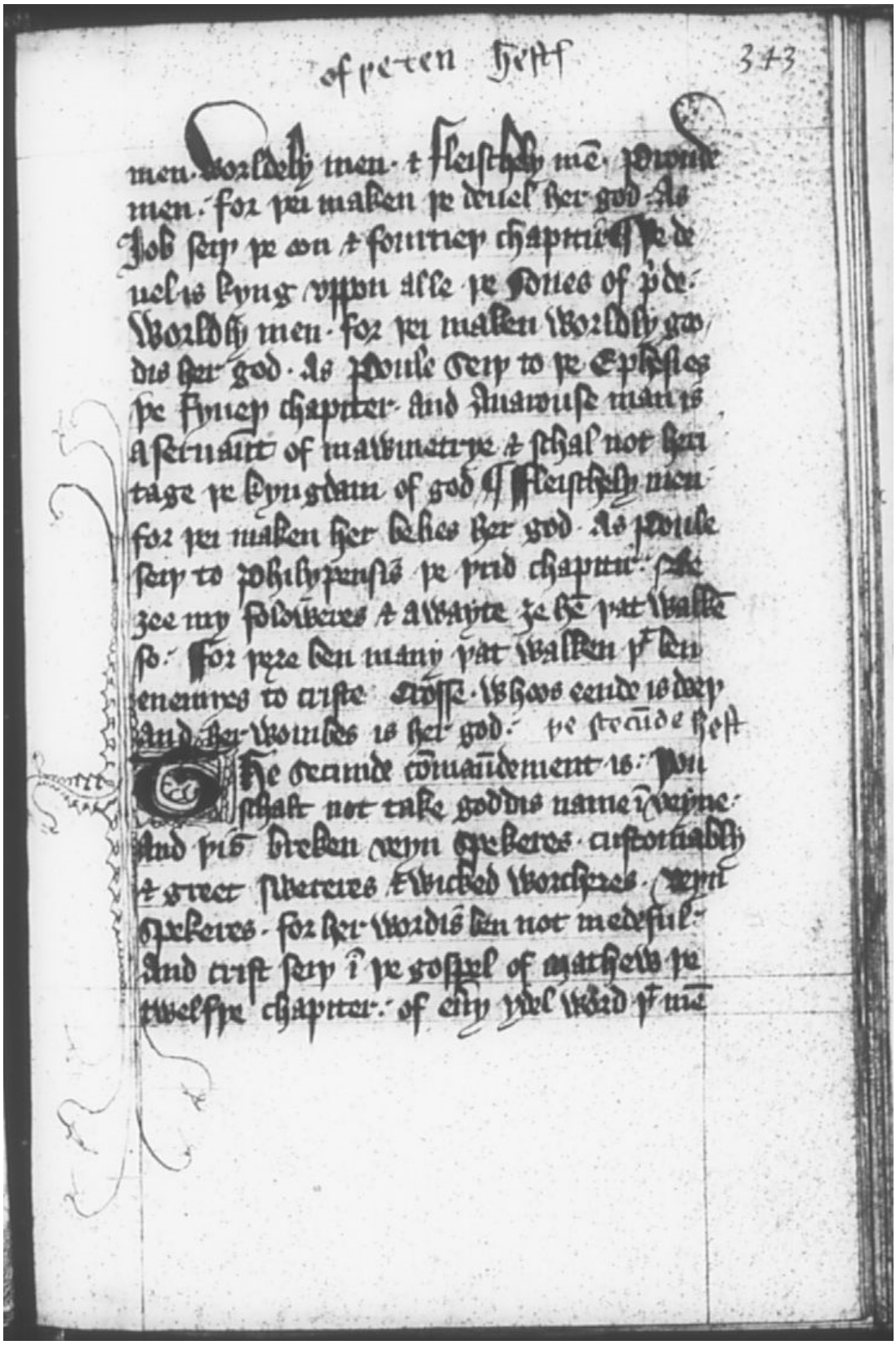
fend. Bote wolde god pat pese men wolden
leruen pe prudense of pe naddere þ stoppup
hure eeris fro pe noyse of pe charmare. sto;
pe ton ere sche layep to pe erpe and pat oþ
sche stoppup wip hir tayl. a so sche scapup
vnchaymed. Pald pis prudence taugte
crist his disciplis. Wpanne he bad hem be pru
dent as naddres. and symple as culuerun.
And so echeman þ is trewe i crist. Wpanne he
hiyzep pe soun of pe fend oz of pe worlde.
applieþ his oon eere of his sowle to pe erpe.
pat is. he biholdup his owne freelte. a hou
wip herynge of pe voys of pe oolde naddere
pe fend. oure forme fadur. was lost a disce
ned. And þ opur ere he stoppup wip his
tayl. pat is. he penkup bisili on pe ende
of his lyf. hou dredful hit is. and how
vncertayn of tyme. And pus he sleep pe
vend⁹ voys. hauynge in mynde alwey
pe word of god pat seip. he pat herep
me ne schal neuer be schent. ¶ The pridde
is smellynge of manⁿ nose. a hit is ofte

mnskept



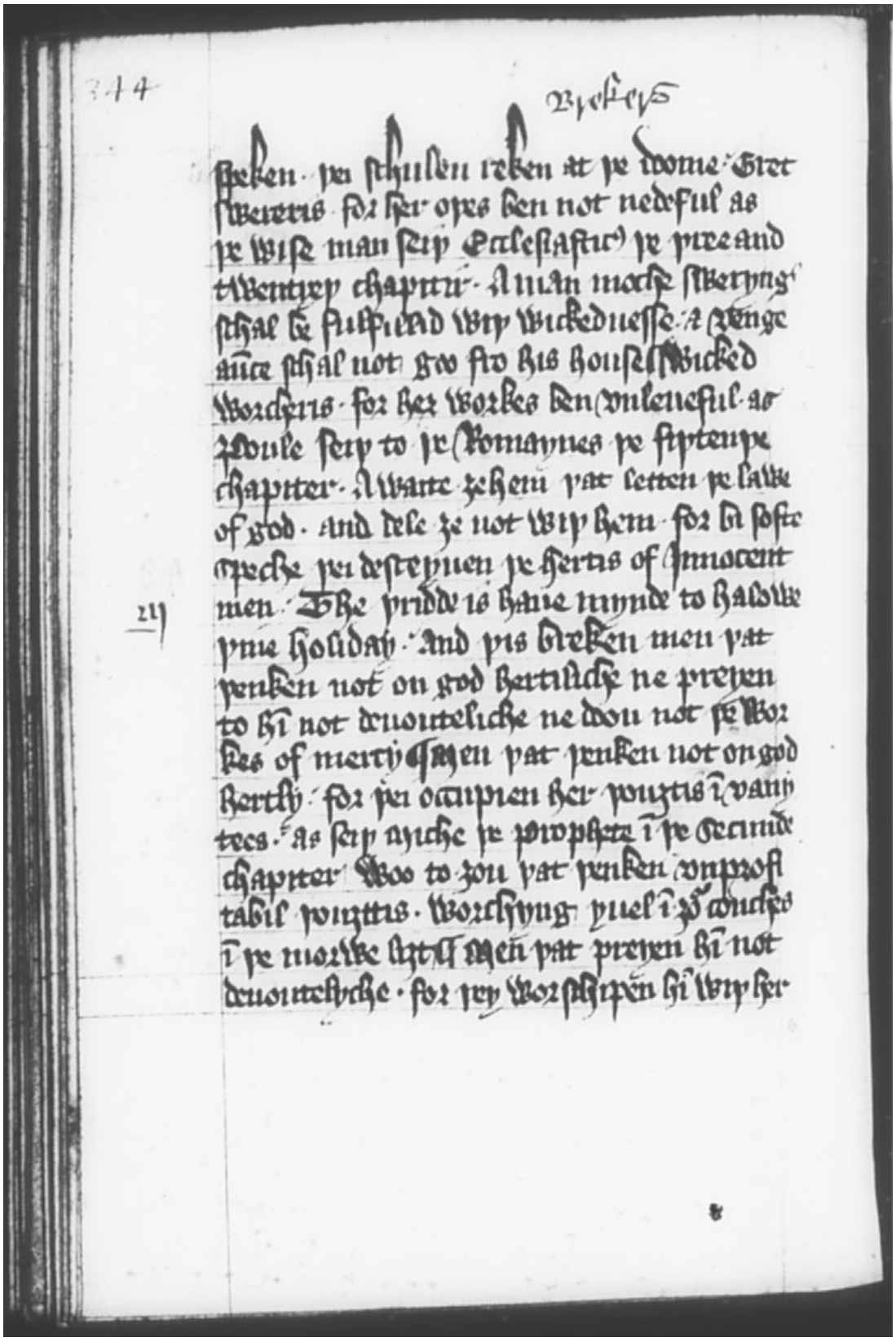
mysseyte as whan a man hap to moche
luste in swete stuffynges of erpely pyng
pat stiren him to lecherie & glotonye for
glotons desiren hem alle in swete and
smouny metis and drynkes: And lecherous
wymmen wasten costely i slymygacious ma
ny oynis & precious ounements to make
her cloyes of swete smour: Why ye wyche
moche peple myzte be susteyned And
certes alle pese bi many wayes schewen
abhominacon bifore god for stynke of
synne: For pe cause why pei don pes
pynges may not be good And pfore it
is seide pt good aungels fleen pe place pt
suche oynours dwellyn inne: And pis sch
uld stire cristen men to flee stynkyng vi
cis & zyue hem to swetnesse of vertues pt
ben swete smellyng to god Pe seyp
wytte pt man hap is Dasstyng pt standip
in tonge & pe palet of pi mouze: pat
wytte is myssayd of suche men pt to gredi
ly or to lykynglych taken mete or drynke:





of peren hest 343

men worldely men & fleisshly men pouure
men for pei maken pe deuel her god As
Job seip pe xxxi & fourtiep chapitre pe de
uel is kyng vppon alle pe sones of pride
Worldly men for pei maken worldly go
dis her god As poule seip to pe Ephesies
pe fyuep chapiter and pat wise man is
a seruaunt of malmastrye & schal not her
tage pe kyngdam of god Fleisshly men
for pei maken her belies her god As poule
seip to pe philippenses pe pridd chapitre Se
zee my fol3eres & awayte ze pe pat walke
so For pere ben many pat walken pe ben
enemyes to crist crosse Whos ende is dep
and her wombes is her god pe preide hest
The preide comaundement is Pou
schalt not take goddis name in veyne
and pis bitokenep oper pat custom ably
& grete swerers & wicked wordsers oper
opers for her wordis ben not medeful
and crist seip in pe gospel of mathew pe
twelfpe chapiter of euy idel word pat me



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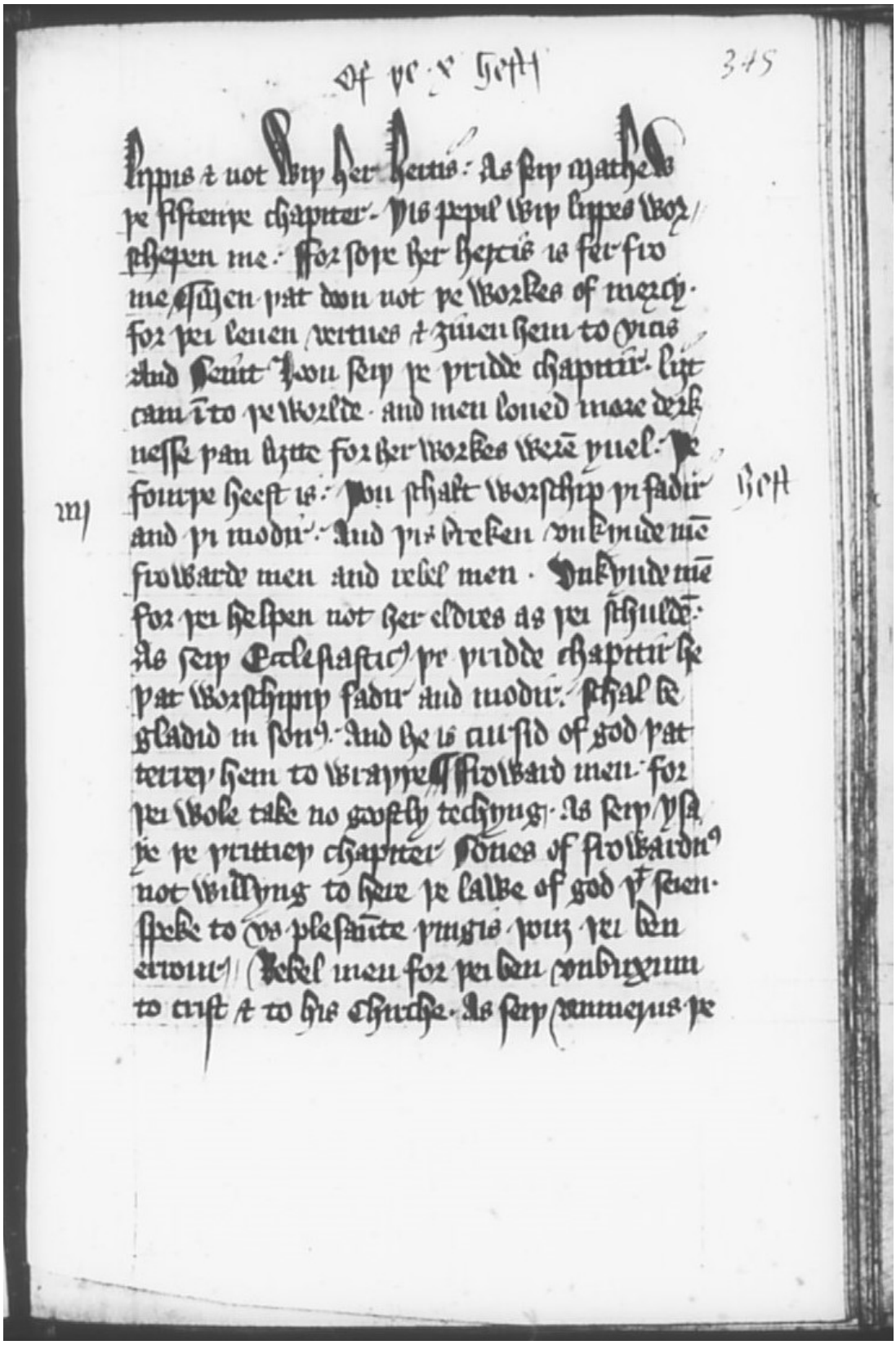
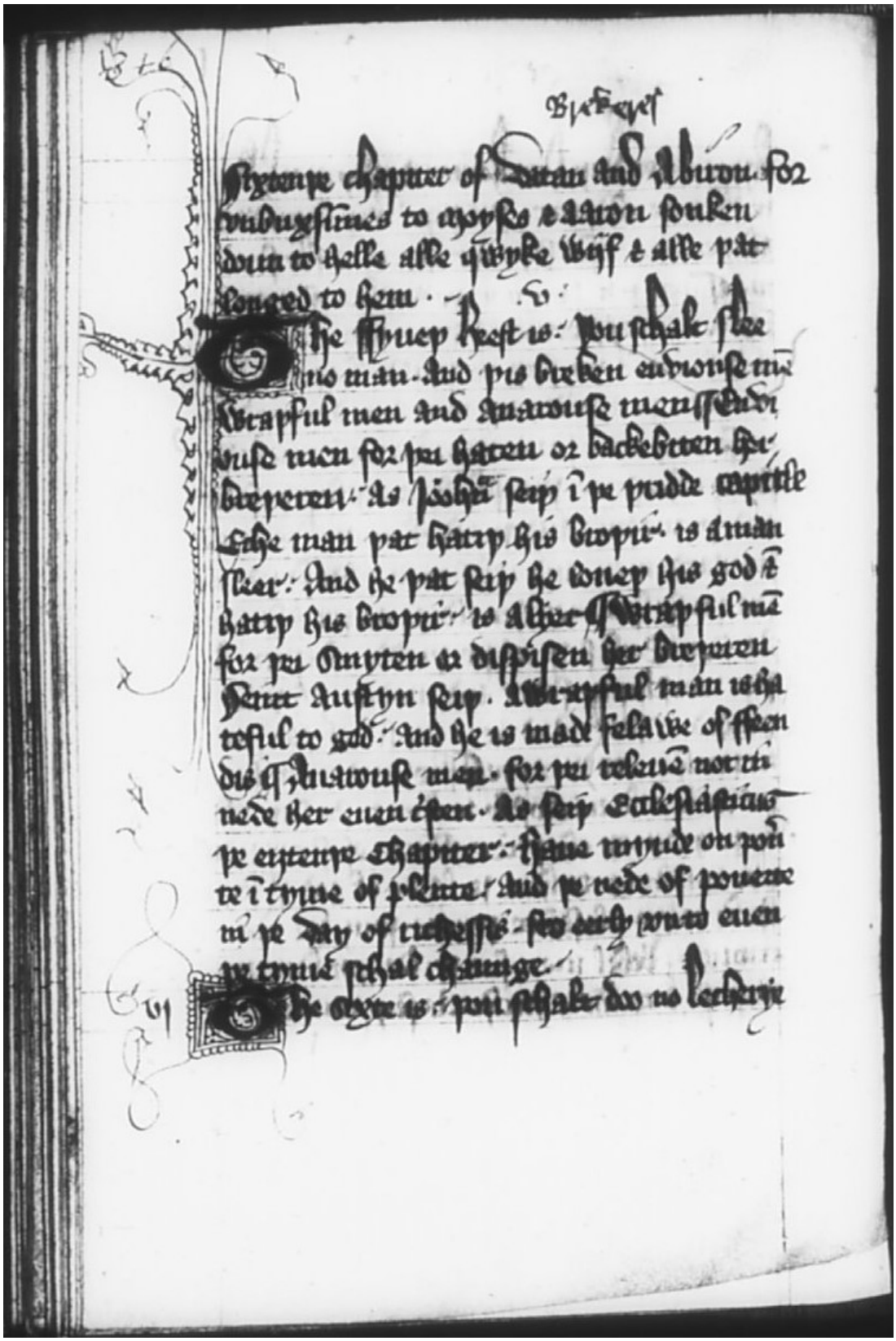
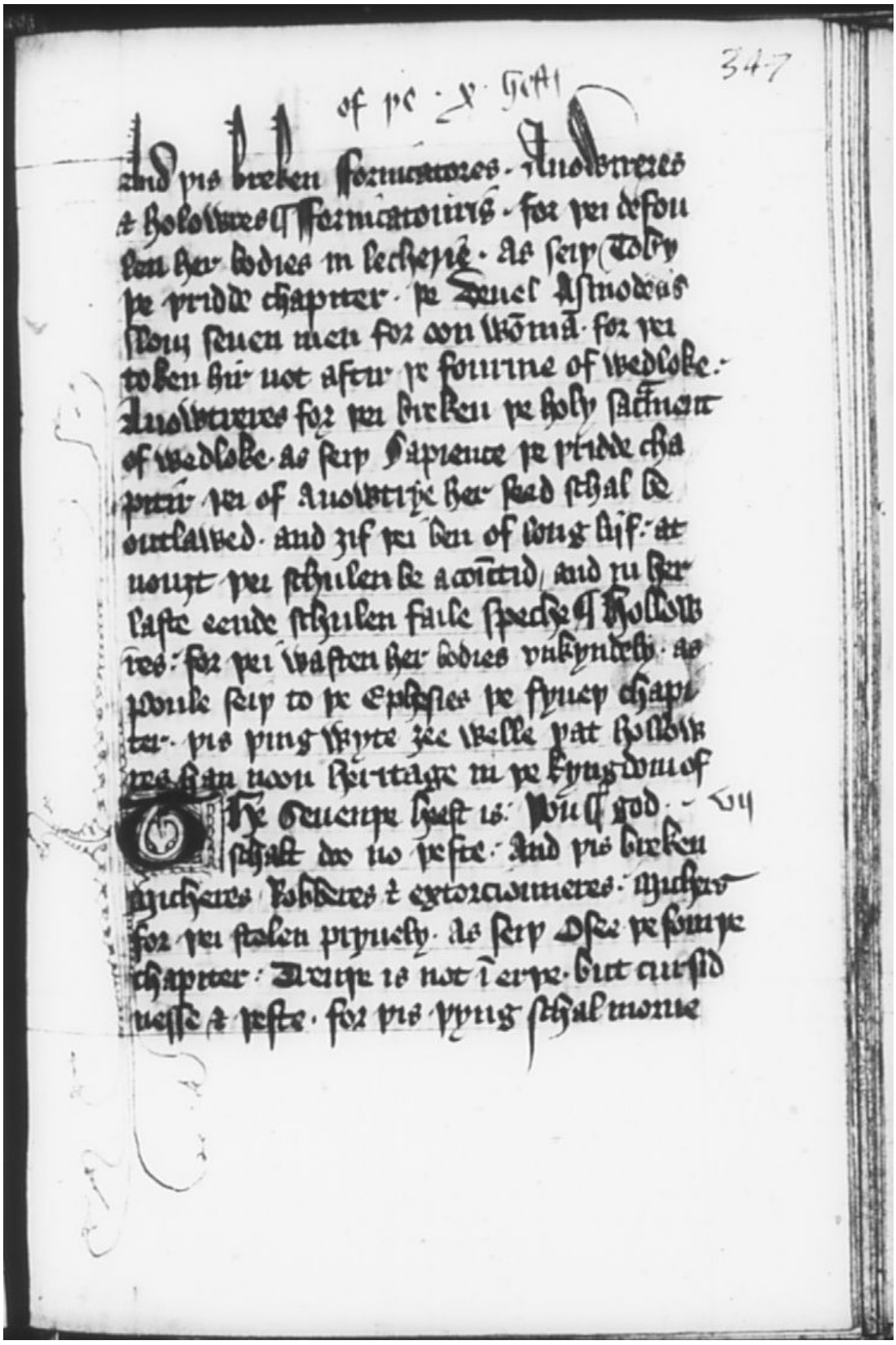
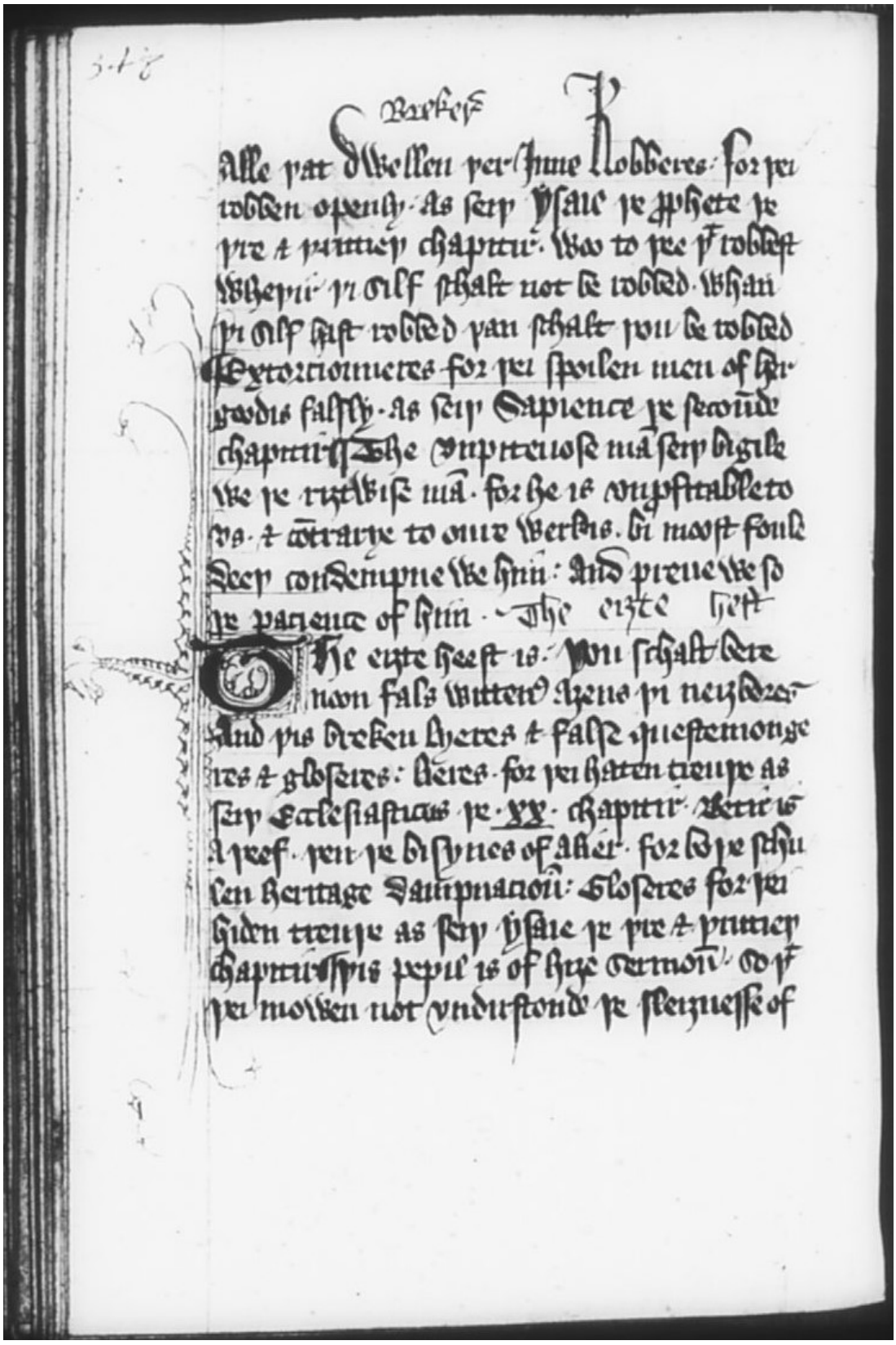
Prestes

speken · ye schulen reken at ye dome · Gret
wereris for her ores ben not nedful as
ye wise man seip Ecclesiastici ye pre and
twentiep chapitre · A man mochi swerynge
schal be fulfilled wip wickednesse · A zenge
mice schal not goo fro his hous[e] wicked
workeris · for her workes ben vnleneful · as
Poule seip to ye Romaynes ye sixtenpe
chapiter · Awake zehem pat setten pe lawe
of god · and dele ze not wip hem · for pi soste
speche pei destreynen pe hertis of innocent
men · 21 The pridde is haue mynde to halowe
ynne holiday · And pis bireken men pat
penken not on god hertilich ne preyen
to hi not deuoutelich ne doon not pe wor
kes of mercy[e] men pat penken not on god
hertly · for pei occupien her poustis i vani
tees · as seip ayeche ye prophete i pe xcviiide
chapiter Woo to zou pat penken vnprofi
table poustis · Worchyng yuel i pe conscience
i pe mozke lyzt[e] men pat preyen hi not
deuoutelyche · for pey worschipen hi wip her





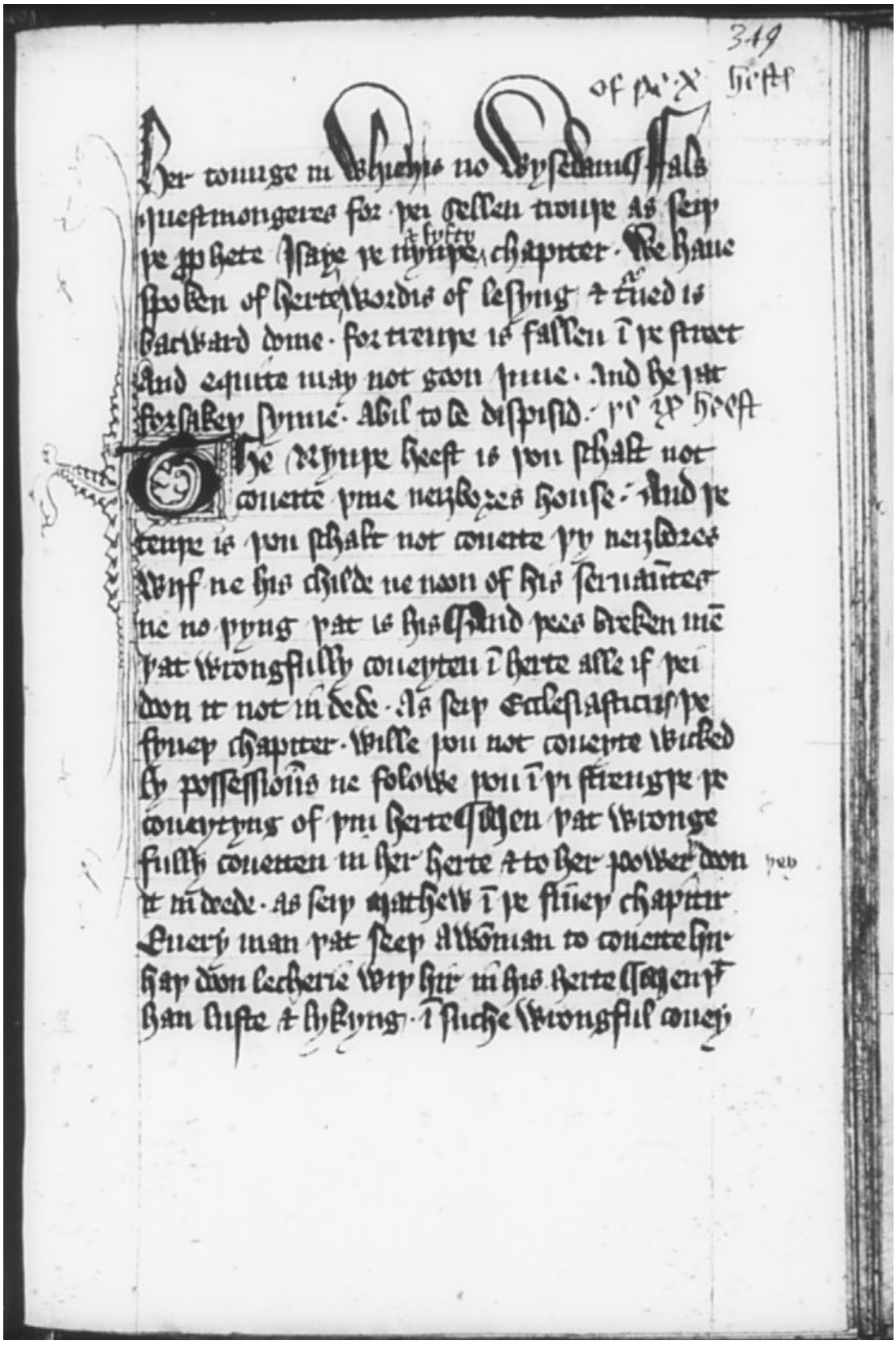


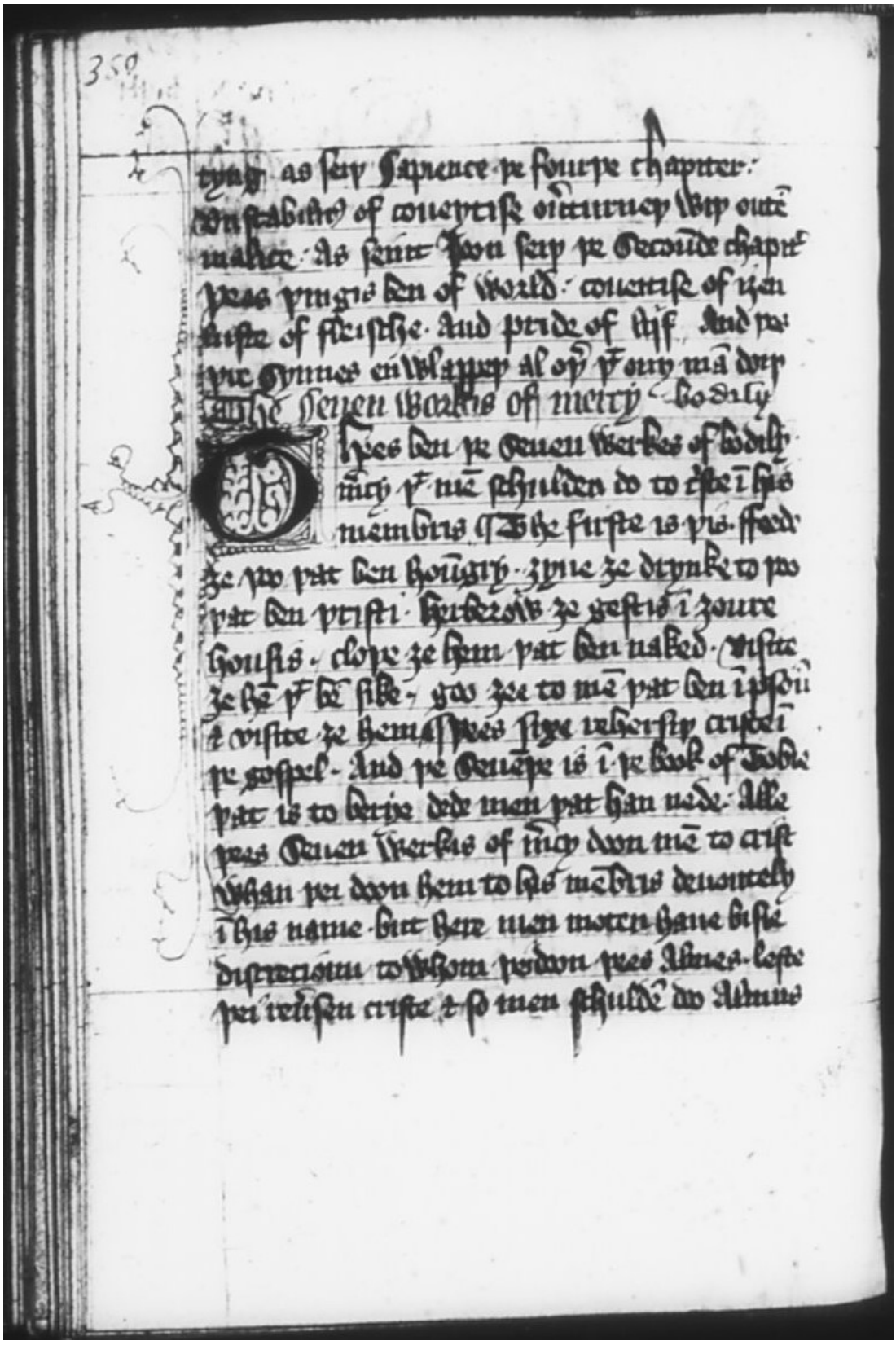


Parties

Alle þat dwellen per/ame robberes for þei
robben openly as seyþ ysaie þe pphete þe
xxi & xxiii chapitre. Wo to þee þ robbest
wherin þi silf schalt not be robbed. Whan
þi silf hast robbed þan schalt þou be robbed
extorcioneres for þei spoilen men of her
goodis falsly. As seyþ Sapience þe secounde
chapitre. The vnpitouse man seyþ bigile
we þe rightwise man. for he is vnpfitable to
vs & contrarye to oure werkis. bi moost foule
deep condempne we him: And pitouse we so
þe patience of him. The eighte heed

The eighte heest is. Þou schalt bere
non fals witnesse ayens þi neyghbore
And þis breken liereres & false pitestemonge
ers & glosers: liereres for þei hatten treuþe as
seyþ Ecclesiasticus þe xx. chapitre. Liere is
a reef. þer þe bisynes of man. for wiþ þe schu
len heritage Dampnacioun: Glosers for þei
hiden treuþe as seyþ ysaie þe xxi & xxiii
chapitre. þis pepil is of litle sermon. & þ
þei nollen not vndirstonde þe sleyngesse of





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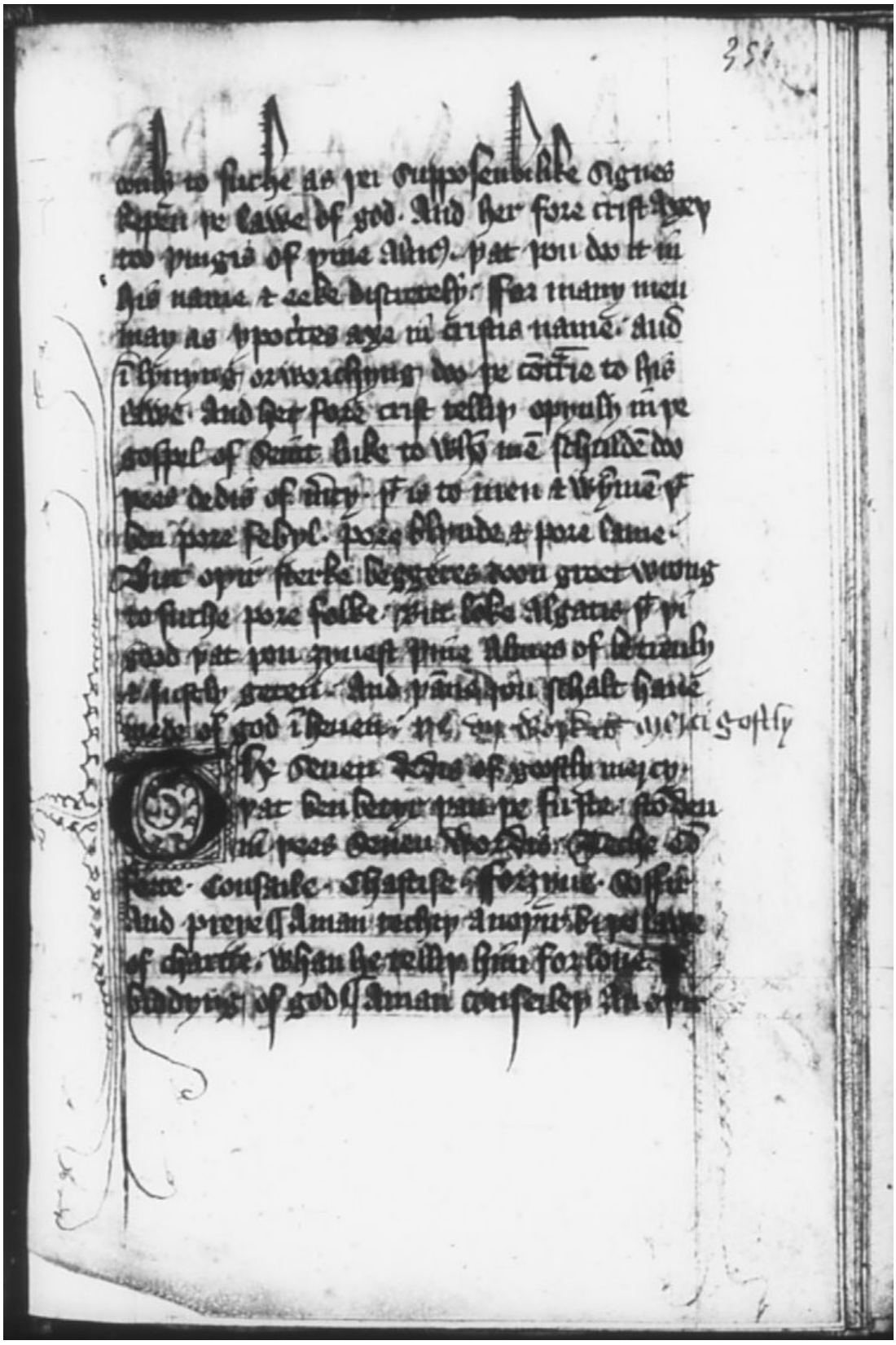
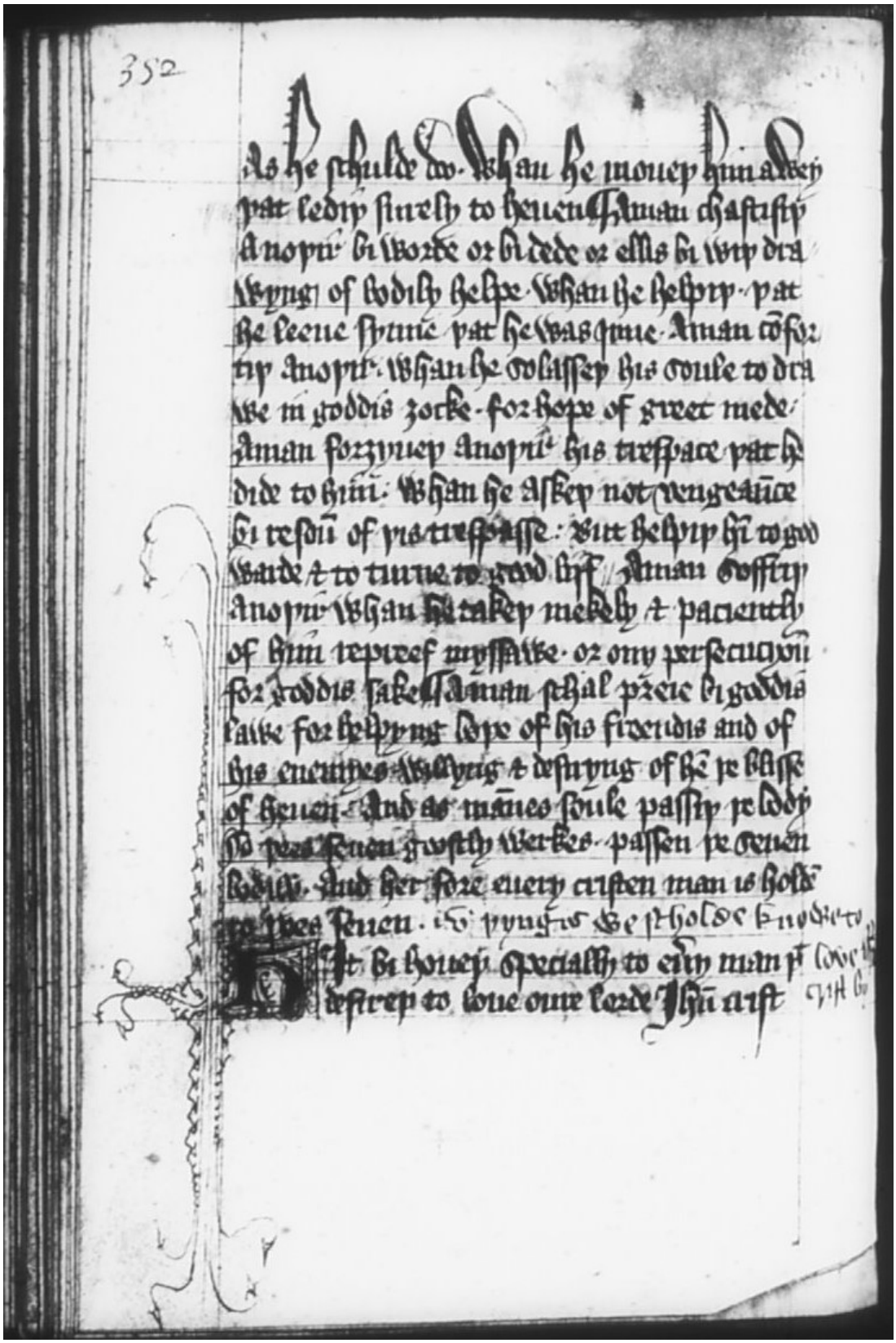
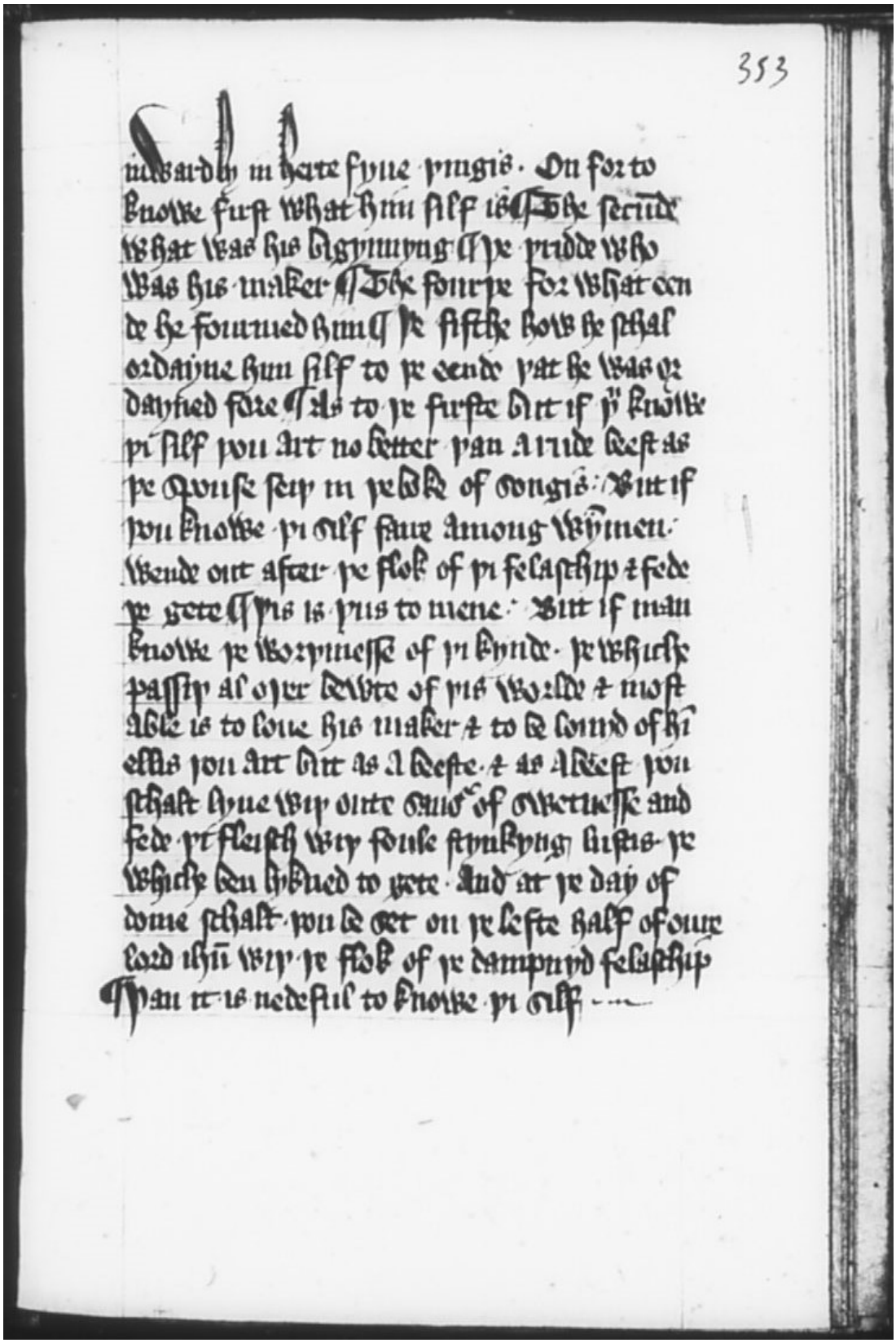
tynge as seyp Laurence pe fourpe chapitre
on stabilite of conuersise of cuersnesse wip oute
maker as seint Iohn seyp pe Seconde chapit
pese pinges ben of worlde. couetise of yen
luste of fleysshe. and pride of lyf. And pe
pre Synnes enwlappep al op pe ouy mā dep
Of pe seuen werkes of mercy Bodily

Hises ben pe seuen werkes of bodily
mercy pt mē schulden do to cpste i his
membris ¶ pe furste is pis. fedde
pe pat ben hongry. zyue pe drynke to po
pat ben pristi herbergis pe gestis i youre
houses. clope pe hem pat ben naked. visite
pe hē pt bē sike. go pee to mē pat ben i prisō
& visite pe hem. pees seye vniuersite cristē
pe gospel. And pe seuēpe is i pe book of Tobie
pat is to berie dede men pat han nede. Alle
pese seuen werkes of mercy down mē to crist
whan pei doun hem to his membris deuoutely
i his name. but here men moten haue bisie
discrecioun to whom pei doun pese almes. leste
pei refusen criste & so men schulde do almus





As he schulde do. Whan he money manaþ
þat ledy sinneth to heuene. Aman chastisy
anoþr bi worde or bi dede or ellis bi wyp dra
wyng of bodily helpe. Whan he helpy. þat
he leeue synne þat he was gilte. Aman cōfor
ty anoþr. Whan he coliffey his soule to dra
we in goddis zocke. for hope of zeet mede.
Aman forzyuep anoþr his trespace þat he
dide to him. Whan he askep not wrecchēce
bi reson of his trespasse. but helpy hī to god
wande & to turne to zood liif. Aman soffry
anoþr. Whan he takep meekly & pacientli
of him repreef wyssaike. or ony persecucyon
for goddis sake. Aman schal preie bi goddis
laike for helpyng hope of his frendis and of
his enemyes. Wellyng & desyryng of he pe blisse
of heuen. And as manes soule passip pe bodi
so pes seuen gostly werkes passen pe seuen
bodili. And herfore euery cristen man is holde
to pes seuen. iō yyngis pe scholde knowe to
Ofte bi hoseli especialli to euy man þ loue hī
desirep to loue oure lorde Jhū crist



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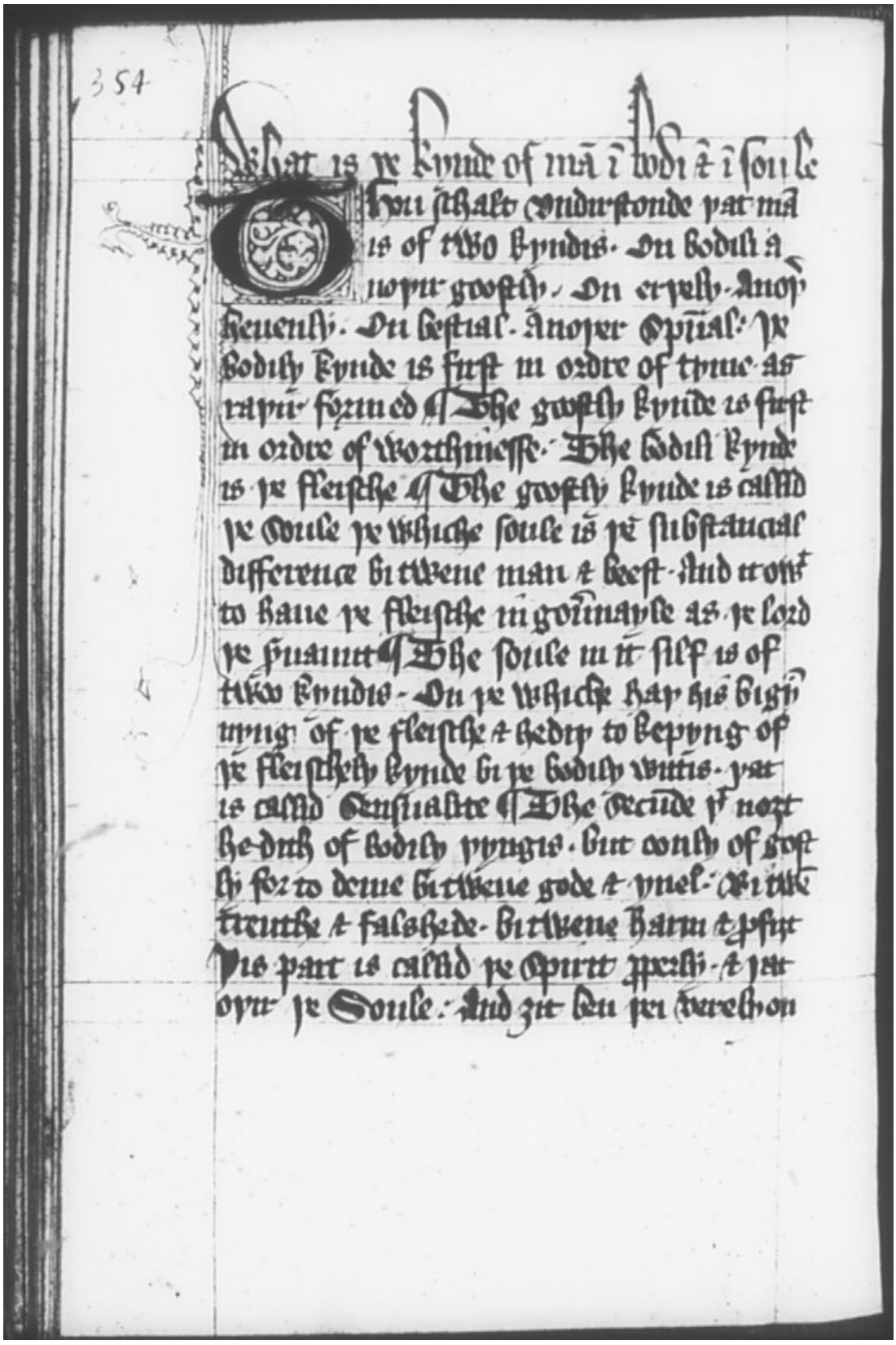
nuwardly in hare fyue pingis. On for to
knowe furst what hym silf is. The secunde
what was his bigynnyng. The pridde who
was his maker. The fourpe for what cen
de he fourmed hym. The fifthe how he schal
ordayne hym silf to pe ende pat he was or
dayned fore. As to pe furste bitt if pu knowe
pi silf pou art no bettir pan a nitide beest as
pe Quinte seip in pe bok of Songis. Bitt if
pou knowe pi silf stare among wymen.
wende nitt after pe flok of pi felaschip & fede
pe gete. pis is pius to mene. Bitt if man
knowe pe worpinesse of pi kynde. pe which
passip al oper debte of pis worlde & most
able is to lowe his maker & to be lownd of hi
ellis pou art bitt as a beste. & as a beest pou
schalt lyue wip nitte Gaus of wikednesse and
fede pi fleysch wip foule stynkyng lustis. pe
which ben ikyned to gete. And at pe day of
dome schalt pou be set on pe leste half of our
lord ihū wip pe flok of pe dampnyd felaschip
Pan it is nedeful to knowe pi silf ---



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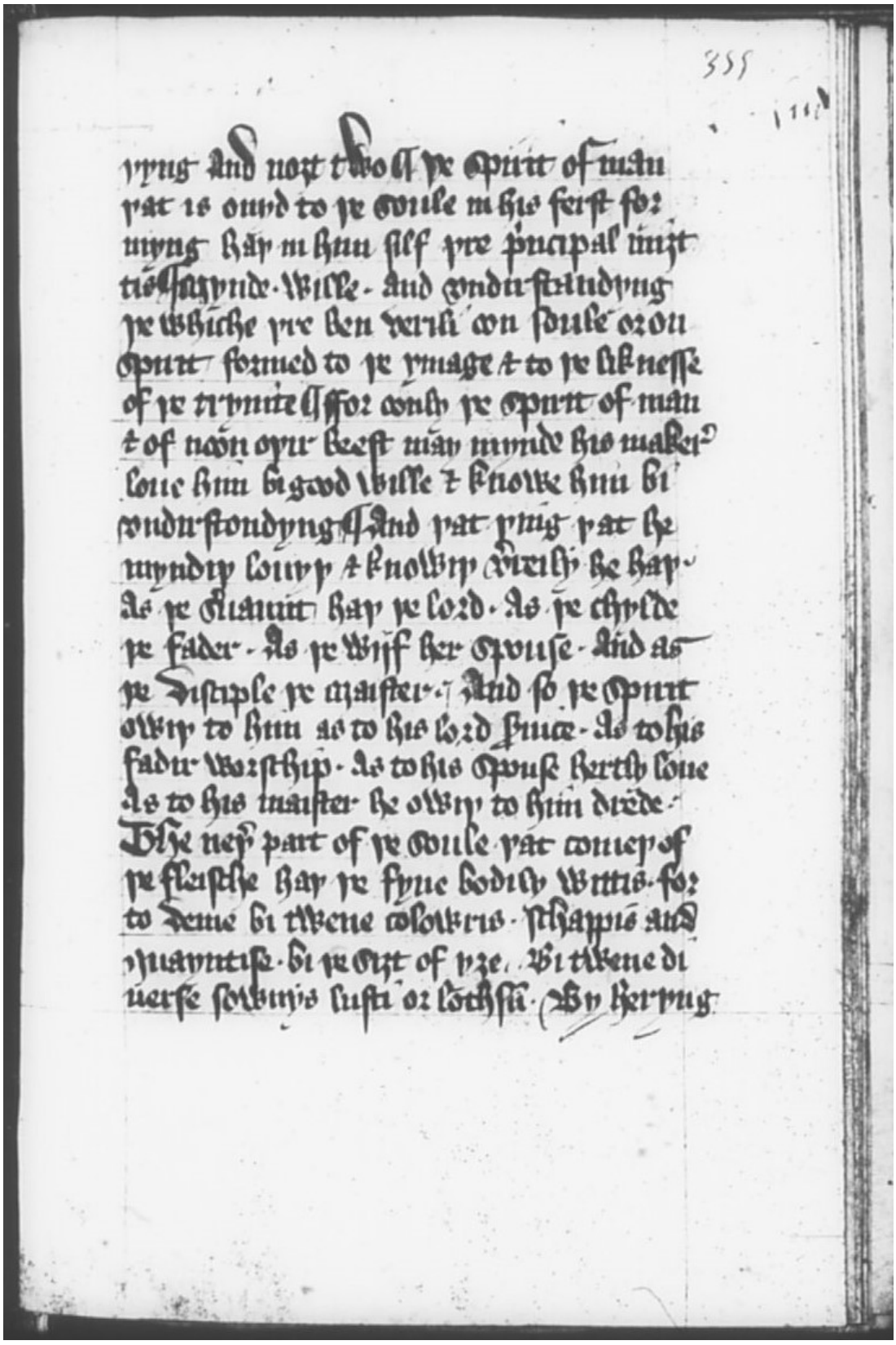
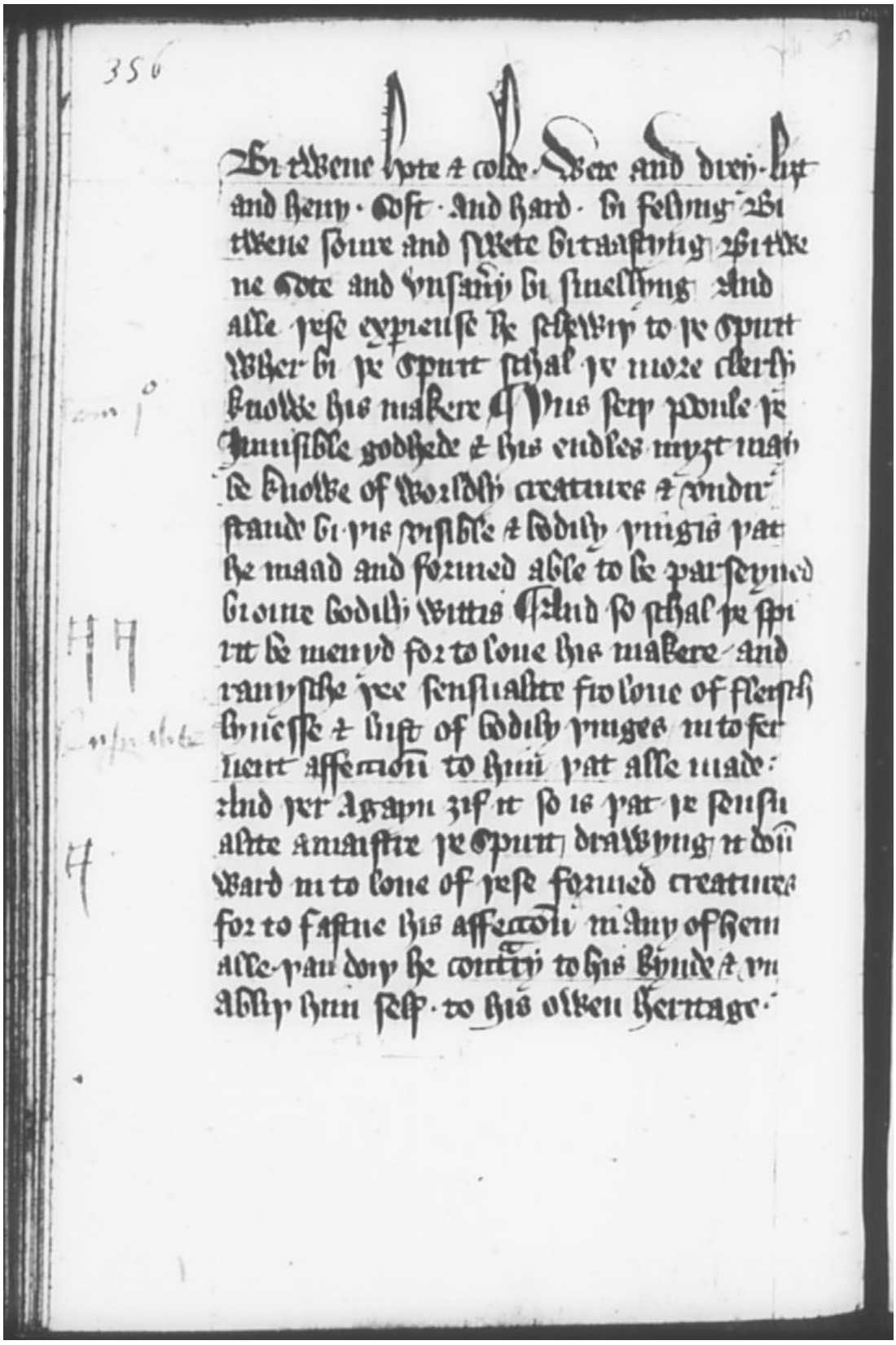
What is ye kynde of mā i bodi & i soule
Pou schalt vndurstonde yat mā
is of two kyndis. On bodili a
nopur goostly. On erthly. Anoy
heuenly. On bestial. Anoyer Spūal. ye
bodily kynde is first in ordre of tyme as
rapūr forsaid ¶ The goostly kynde is first
in ordre of worthinesse. The bodili kynde
is ye fleysche ¶ The goostly kynde is callid
ye Soule ye whiche soule is ye substaūcial
differeūce bitwene man & beest. And to
haue ye fleysche in gouernayle as ye lord
ye sustaūnt ¶ The soule in it silf is of
two kyndis. On ye whiche hap his bigy
nyng of ye fleysche & hedip to kepyng of
ye fleyschely kynde bi ye bodily wittis. yat
is callid Sensualite ¶ The secunde ye nozt
hedith of bodily pyngis. but only of gost
li forto deme bitwene gode & ynel. Bi ye
treuthe & falshede. bitwene harm & profit
Pis part is callid ye Spirit ypeli. & yat
oyn ye Soule. And zit ben pei bereb on



ynge and next to ye spirit of man
yat is ordyd to ye soule in his first so:
unyng hap in him self ye principal myst
tis[illegible]ynde. Wille. and vndirstondyng
ye whiche ye ben verili con soule or ou
spirit formed to ye ymage & to ye lik nesse
of ye tr ynite ffor as ye spirit of man
& of non oyr beest may mynde his maker
love him bi good wille & knowe him bi
vndirstondyng. And yat ynge yat he
myndip louyp & knowip verili he hap
as ye kniaht hap ye lord. as ye chylde
ye fader. as ye wif her spouse. and as
ye disciple ye maister. And so ye spirit
owip to him as to his lord fruit. as to his
fadir worshipp. as to his spouse herth love
as to his maister he owip to him drede.
Pe ney part of ye soule yat coniep of
ye flesshe hap ye fyue bodily wittis. for
to deme bi tho ene colouris. shappis and
smaytnesse. bi ye sight of yze. bi tho ene di
uerse sowndis lusti or lothfli. By herynge



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Bitwene hote & colde. Wete and drey. lyte
and heny. oft. And hard. bi felyng. Bi
twene soure and swete bi tastyng. bitwe
ne odre and vnsauy bi smellyng. and
alle pese expriense he seruep to pe spirit
wher bi pe spirit schal pe more clerly
knowe his makere. Pus sey pouke pe
inuisible godhede & his endles myzt mah
be knowe of worldly creatures & vnder
stande bi pis visible & bodily pinges pat
he maad and formed able to be parseyued
bi oure bodily wittis. And so schal pe spi
rit be meuyd for to loue his makere and
ranysshe pee sensualite fro loue of flesch
lynesse & lust of bodily pinges into fer
uent affeccion to him pat alle made.
And per Agayn zif it so is pat pe sensu
alite anoyeth pe spirit drawyng it dow
ward into loue of pese formed creatures
for to fastne his affeccion in any of hem
alle-pau doup he contrey to his kynde & vn
ably hym self. to his owen heritage.